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# MACLEAN'S

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and the future of the Canadian economy **P.42**





But, South Africa's new constitution voted to repeal Section 16 of the Human Rights Act

## A battle won, the fight moves to new ground

**T**his week saw a small victory in the battle for freedom of speech in Canada.

We refer to the report by University of Windsor law professor Richard Moon regarding the Canadian Human Rights Act. As residents are well aware, provincial and federal human rights commissions have become a cudgel wielded by special interest groups intent on limiting Canadians' right to free speech. Moon's work was the subject of three separate complaints regarding our October 2006 cover story by Mark Steyn, "The Potable Beliefs in Islam."

Moser's intent was to examine Section 13 of the act, which permits complaints to the Canadian Human Rights Commission (CHRC) on any manner that "is likely to expose a person or persons to hatred or contempt." Such loose terminology means a wide range of fact-based opinions might be construed as violations of the act. This is precisely what occurred when a group of law students objected to Moser's views and sought to impose their own, on our conscience.

Sensibly, Meen has decided that it's inappropriate to use human rights legislation to limit freedom of expression or the press. "The use of censorship by the government should be confined to a narrow category of extreme expression—that which denigrates, advocates or justifies violence against the members of an identifiable group," he writes. And since the Criminal Code already makes incitement to violence of this sort illegal, Meen concludes Section 319 cannot be used.

As welcome as this may be, however, Moon's report is no reason for banners or

hunting. His modest report lacks any official authority or significance. In fact, CHRC chief commissioner Jennifer Lynch is announcing the report—announced during the summer as a way to defuse criticism of the CHRC—is simply one part in some new and undefined consultation process through which, undoubtedly, those familiar special interest groups will again seek to dominate the agenda.

As for Lloyd's recommendation that section 13 be repealed, Lynch mentions this nowhere in her accompanying press release. Instead she suggests "revisions" may be a better idea. This is a dangerous old herring. The only way to properly protect freedom of speech in Canada is to remove the offending section in its entirety.

Because of this, the debate over free speech must be shifted immediately to Parliament, where it properly belongs. Mason's freedom of expression may be broadening, but not nearly as significant as the overwhelming vote in favour of repealing Section 23 at the recent Conservative party policy conference in Wile rising. Or the private members' bills and agitation by backbench MPs on both sides of the House. Such a broad and growing political movement in opposition to Section 23.

The threat to freedom of expression and a free press contained in Section 15 is a political problem created by legislation. And it will be up to politicians to fix it. ■

## MACLEAN'S

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## 'I suggest that you were very unfair to Prince Charles. His views are not all wild.'

### RAH-RAH, OBAMA

JUST AS MANY of us were taking faith in our neighbours to the south, they reaffirmed their status as a land of freedom and opportunity with their election of the new president ("Obama," *World*, Nov. 17). In fact, Obama is the first man to ascend within the United States that's not to say that he will be able to accomplish this on his own, rather he is a man who is willing to make the changes that are necessary to get his country back on track. Hopeful to the billions of people of roaming country whose political faith had been bitterly divided. *Kyle Rankner, Waterloo, Ont.*

NOW THAT THE 2008 U.S. election is over, significant challenges lie ahead. President-elect Obama must temper the unrealistic expectations of his supporters in the face of the difficult times his country faces. But the largest challenge is perhaps the easiest: it may now find a way to raise the cynicism and deflation of Obama and his family to new heights. *Marc Adams, Halifax*

YOUR EDITORIAL drawing a link between Barack Obama and John F. Kennedy is accurate ("A JFK for our times" *From the Editors*, Nov. 17). Anyone with a passing knowledge of JFK knows that he was a sign of this father's frustration in action and ample bank account. JFK wasn't too much of a "quick study on foreign policy" when he was the viable symbol of a power hungry, mostly biracial family who stored up a Communist hornet's nest in Cuba. *Dorel J. Broun, Cambridge, Ont.*

OUR FLAG-WAVING, ultra-right-wing American readers, who never miss an opportunity to wage a political event of study up against, reached out some \$1.5 billion to fund the 2008 presidential run up to the White House. They have outdone themselves this time around. *William Eady, Edmonton*

YOU WENT OVERBOARD on the U.S. line. In fact, posted in many photos, you might have considered putting the Obama package in the centre of the magazine, so embarrassed Canadians would have laughed with their JFK and Clinton memorabilia. I was surprised that you did not offer T-shirts or baseball caps. *Melissa Brown, Annapolis Royal, N.S.*

CANADIANS ARE ASKING, "Where is our Barack Obama?" Where is the young politician whose capture of the imagination of our young people and got them involved in politics? He's right here in Parliament House as Justin Trudeau. *Bob Thompson, Victoria*

### CROWD PLEASERS

IT WAS TELLING that your writer Nicholas Kobler compared a Barack Obama rally of 175,000 to a Stephen Harper rally of 1,000 ("Why Canadian don't like him," *National*, Nov. 30). And, let's face it, the lack of wires



beds at a Canadian political event is nothing to do with cold weather, the length of elections, campaign finances, party finance or busy schedules. The primary reason is a lack of excitement in the party leaders parallel before us over the past 40 years. I attended a packed rally at the old Civic Stadium in Hamilton for Pierre Elliott Trudeau before I was old enough to vote. The youth enthusiasm was infectious and contagious immediately to his first party, just as the youth in the U.S. propelled Obama to prominence in the Democratic primary. Lester Broun gave us a national election in 1968 and Trudeau did for Quebec (and Trudeau gave us an international election). Since then we have been given nothing but a bunch of spenders party cynicism who rise to prominence, not through oratory or insight, but through backroom deals, press releases and outright deception. *Dorel Cowell, Thornbury, Ont.*

### EMPATHY FOR THE PRINCE

ALTHOUGH I AM not lending toward the crown and don't hold with quick courts, I suggest that you were very unfair to Prince Charles, starting with the first photograph in my story, carefully chosen to fit the image of a potty prince ("Happy Birthday Please remember," *Focus*, Nov. 17). Charles' views are not all wild. In fact, some of them are shared by sensible people. For example, a great many consider much of modern architecture ugly, without necessarily condemning all of it. The prince is hardly alone in "looking against modern Christianity" or the concept of child-centred education. And "modernity itself" is opposed to the way in which post-industrial society has ended technology and economic growth is an unhealthy, unbalanced way, often denying humanity and feeling so are many others. The whole green movement, the search for organic foods and the questioning of the health, safety and sustainability of industrial agriculture are also concerns that many share. *William D. Grant, Ottawa*

### HOCKEY ON TRIAL

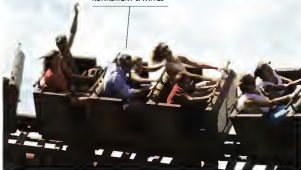
THE TRIAL OF former hockey coach and NHL agent David Frost is one minor illustration of our head-on-the-sand attitude toward our national game ("Bank run on trial," *Justice*, Nov. 17). As a high school principal, I witnessed the emotional distraction of Grade 9 girls as junior hockey players systematically sought out and had sex with them as a rite of passage. Your writer Charlie Gilpin quotes Bob Hooper, the commissioner of the Ontario Junior Hockey League, saying "hockey doesn't condone this stuff." However, in my mind, ignoring the behaviour is tantamount to condoning it. Once, when I attempted to address an incident of drinking at a school sports trip, parents objected to the suspension imposed by the school on the grounds that "they do it on hockey trips." Hockey trips were always an excuse for drinking school, but even more flagged it was the school's fault because we weren't supporting the team by making allowances.

It was an ancient hockey fix in my youth, but many of my experiences with the game as an adult have steered me to the point that I am fearful for my grandson who loves

(meet the experts)

To learn more about the concerns of Canadians, see the article in the Meet the Experts Information Supplement.

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**KRUPS**

Beyond reason.

to play. What if he becomes a musician, say 10 years under the influence of the hockey musical?

*Goal: General Davey, Lac des Bonnets, Man.*

#### TURN DOWN THE VOLUME

THANK YOU for James J. Newman's story on the onsets of tears in television shows ("Pahug" with the Dominicans, TV, Nov. 17). It certainly underscores how so-called music becomes a metaphor and trite music noise to the listener-viewer. The background music has interfered with any enjoyment of TV and movies for some time now. Is TV noise another manifestation of imposing constraints on entire citizens who are unable to think and feel for themselves? How do we get the noise-makers to back



DOCTORS have a habit of labelling GI sufferers as malingerers.

off? Now, where is that good silent book that I've been reading?

*Reverend A. Smith, Harrington, Ont.*

WHEN THE MUSIC is louder than the dialogue and the actors are mumbling anyway, all meaning is lost.

*Judy and Steve Slane, Brantford, Ont.*

#### TRUSTING YOUR OUT

YOUR IN-DEPTH LOOK at the subconscious and pervasiveness of gastroesophageal problems tells about the price people will pay for not seeking medical help due to "modesty" (Special Report, Health, Nov. 17). But there is another more sinister reason that many people choose not to pursue medical treatment. There is a subset of doctors that works on a fee-for-service basis with group health insurers and who are well paid to take a hard line with these patients. These doctors are constantly suspicious and have a habit of labelling patients who suffer gastrointestinal problems as fakers and malingerers looking to use a bogus disability claim as the road to an extended vacation.

*Reine Franco, Colindale, Ont.*

I WOULD LIKE to enlighten readers who could relate some jealousy of gastric symptoms. There is a physiological explanation for many of these symptoms, both physical and emotional, just one doctor's appointment away. It affects over 100 million Canadians and costs a diagnosis rate of only three per cent. Ask me to be cured for cancer.

*Ellen Ayres, Canadian Cancer Association, Victoria*

I WAS DELIGHTED to see the articles on inflammatory bowel disease in my daughter,

husband and sister have Crohn's disease and my niece has ulcerative colitis. I was puzzled, however, at the failure to mention the Crohn's and Colitis Foundation of Canada. This national organization ([www.ccf.ca](http://www.ccf.ca)) provides support and education for IBD sufferers, including information packages for the newly diagnosed, and raises money to support research with the eventual goal of a cure. They have designated November as "Get Gassy Month." For our family, the CCFC has been an invaluable resource.

*Judy Rice, Kingston, Ont.*

#### 'SUPERHUMAN' SPAT

THE DESCENT OF a Canadian landmark magazine into the wilderness of the National Enquirer is startling. It was stopped dead by the headline promising an exposé of Peter C. Newman's book on Israel Ager, Izzy. You see "Clash of the titans" (Business, Nov. 17) to describe the tension between Ager and General Black. Now really. My dictionary defines a titan as a "person of superhuman size, strength and intellect." Have we debased our language to this extent? Or, on the other hand, if we can accept the pretence of the men after Newman chronicles as representing a quarter of Canadian citizens, our society has truly lost its way, as well as its values.

*Robin Marler Kerr, Mississauga, Ont.*

#### IN PASSING

Clive Barnes, 81, critic: The British-born writer became New York City's most stable critic, writing on dance and drama for the New York Times in the 1960s and '70s. Often described as the most powerful man on Broadway, he authored numerous books on dance.

Joan Fyfe, 80, banker: He advised Russia's first prime minister and served as the first president of the Bank of Montreal, becoming its treasurer of finance in the early 1900s. He later rose to be deputy prime minister and went on to found one of the country's first investment banks, Fyfe, and was a powerful leader on the national gas company Gaspro. He died of a stroke.





7 DAYS  
of politics

## A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF JIM FLAHERTY

As the economy unravels, the federal finance minister has been ubiquitous—presenting his case for a national securities regulator and urging the banks to go easy on automation dipping into their RRRs. On Sunday, after revealing that Canada's job already is in a "structural" recession, Flaherty presented the Grey Cup to the Calgary Stampede (he was booed by the Montreal crowd for his misdeed). On Monday, he was in Toronto talking stimulus and a sooner-than-expected budget.

### Good news

#### No more free rides

After showing up in Washington, without a plane—and via private jet—last Sunday, the big Three visionaries are finally catching the message. Their next request for a government bailout will be humble, with the CEOs "expressing" to the Capital, accompanied by union reps, factory workers and parts suppliers. Now let's hope for a renewed debate on the U.S. and Canada. As B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell points out, forestry workers in his province could use some financial assistance, too. A national approach, combined with some dose dilution, would be nice for a change.

#### Classroom class

Stratopops aside, today's children are actually better behaved at school than their counterparts of the 1970s and '80s. According to a long-term analysis of 101 classrooms in the U.K., modern-day primary students are more likely to be "on task" during lessons and paying close attention to their work, thanks in large part to constant verbal encouragement from "incredibly hard working" teachers. If a pupil does happen to misbehave, the bits may want to consider copying New Zealand's answer to unruly students: parenting classes. The government just announced a major expansion of a teacher-bugaboo program that teaches parents and kids to control their chronically disruptive children before they cost taxpayers millions of dollars in prison bills and unemployment benefits.

#### Lord on high

Good to see Grand Black making the most of his new behind bar. Having applied to George W. Bush to curate his sentence,

the paled press has a talking point. America's lackluster on drugs, spring 05 has become the greatest success with two-bit marijuana smokers who have no real issue being there. U.S. justice has become a commercial enterprise based on the revenue of private prison companies, by which it could be worse. Reason: Don't worry about positive, but think simply in secret. Obama's goal is to make U.S. crime a dramatically no picnic, black rap will have pulled the best position.

### FACE OF THE WEEK



GOOD NAME: Calgary Stampede president Henry Smith, here celebrating his 10th anniversary, and his team in a Grey Cup win.

### Bad news

#### Cyber-suicides

What is more disturbing than the case of Nicholas Buzzi, the 29-year-old Florida man who killed himself before a live Internet audience, as Lou Doona, the 49-year-old senior account executive at an online message bank and whose failed romance interest in a neighbour's daughter allegedly prompted her suicide? In an age when so many people's private lives are just a mouse click away, there is little that can be done to prevent such

ing, reading and participating in religious services. Which may explain why someone would be so grumpy these days. The latest Nielsen ratings reveal that the average American television is turned on for eight hours and 15 minutes a day—longer than ever before. A word of advice, faithful viewers: avoid the business channels. They'll only make you more depressed.

#### Buffeted

How bad is the economy? Even Warren Buffett is losing money. The gloom and doom markets have shaved more than 30 per cent off the share price of his holding company, with Berkshire Hathaway up trading below \$100 per share for the first time in two years. And the cost of protecting his company's debt against default has almost tripled in the past two months, measures for about three subsidiaries. It could be bad news for the money manager than Buffett doesn't feel it's his largest. But the Oracle of Omaha isn't putting—he's still snatching at straws.

#### Mmmm, patience

To look the band Guru N' Ross 17 years to make Chinese Democracy, and a publicity blitz worthy of the summer Olympics to sell the new album out. But we can only hope about democracy in China will turn out better than this overproduced mess of pop.

#### The gloom tube

Lance up, couch potato: the minute central news gives you the power, but it won't boost your gains. According to new research from the University of Maryland, unhappy people watch 16 per cent more television than the average viewer, while those who consider themselves happy spend more of their free time in social-

ing, reading and participating in religious services. Which may explain why someone would be so grumpy these days. The latest Nielsen ratings reveal that the average American television is turned on for eight hours and 15 minutes a day—longer than ever before. A word of advice, faithful viewers: avoid the business channels. They'll only make you more depressed.

CAPITAL DIARY

### WE'LL STAY FOR OBAMA

To help raise money for a new building, the Ottawa Art Gallery held an elegant fundraiser at the Canadian Museum of Civilization on the first day of the new session of Parliament. At the same affair were some of the most powerful cabinet ministers: Finance Minister Jim Flaherty, Transport Minister John Baird, and Environment Minister Jim Prentice. While no champagne was tipped, Prentice was seen drinking beer from a glass.

"He usually just drinks artisanal beer," joked his wife Karen Prentice. Also in attendance was U.S. ambassador David Wilkins and his wife Susan Wilkins, who will be departing Ottawa ahead of George W. Bush leaving office. That means there will be no ambassadorial trade between Obama's appointment. But what if Obama decides to make his first foreign trip to Canada soon after inauguration? "Then we would try," says Mrs. Wilkins.

### HOT SEATS

The new seating plan in the House has the Conservatives on one side with five New Democrats. Toronto NDP MP Olivia Chow volunteered to sit on the government side and saw her husband, Jack Layton, on the other side. "I like it like that," says the NDP leader. This is a strategy the two employed while in Toronto city council. They sat on opposite sides of the council chamber as they would work both sides of the room for votes and networking. Labour Minister Rose Annemarie's seat has also moved and she is now in the front row. Her old seat were in the back row. Minister Lisa Raitt, who quickly learned she will show up in every TV chat that Stephen Harper is in during question period. No one



TRAMPOLINE: From left, John Baird and wife, (back clockwise) the Speaker's sister Anne Baird, David and Susan Wilkins, MP Nicolas Duhaime, MP Scott Brison, Stephen and Lynne Harper, Ontario Speaker Peter Millican, Natural Resources Minister Lisa Raitt.

worried her befriended about that, she says. Her family in Cape Breton watch QP, though, and miss her when she's not appearing on television.

### DON'T MESS WITH SPEAKER'S SISTER

The new Parliament saw the election of David Speck, Peter Millican, as the new Speaker. Prior to the vote, one Liberal MP noted that as one in his party would vote for their fellow Liberal MP David Speck, the

who made the difference. "What going to tell us for the House vote on Budget?" quipped the MP. Since the Speaker's role is to ensure the order of business, he would have to be able to tell from the capital before Budget. Before the capital vote, MPs were asked to raise if they did not want to raise. As several stood, John Baird yelled. "It's just like the Liberal leadership poll, our other leader [say say they would]" During the vote, Baird was seen backing

and jolting back and forth with the Speaker's sister, Anne Baird. Millican, who was sitting alone in a gallery. Turns out she and Baird have a history. Back in 1988, Baird was protesting the arrival of then Ontario Liberal premier David Peterson when he visited the Millican's basement of Burlington, Ont., and Anne Baird Millican looked back at the scene to get her own of the way.

### THE 'ALTAR BOY' MP

In October one of the youngest MPs ever was elected. Marc MP Nicolas Duhaime, 21, a plaid Bloc MP. Raymond Gendron, a Catholic priest who was told by the Vatican he could not marry again. "Now we have the altar boy," joked one MP. Only two MPs have been younger than Duhaime and both were to Liberal Claude André. Duhaime elected in 1974 and Progressive Conservative Sen. Patrick O'Sullivan in 1977. Duhaime arrived on the 11th with a beard, which he says he has had since because 1) his hair was politically active since he was young. His father, Bob Duhaime, helped establish the Bloc Québécois. When the MP was only eight, he would make calls for the Bloc. He was still high and the priest married it was a woman calling.

### THE FITTY VOTE

As Liberals continue to lack their wounds from the last election, Newfoundland and MP Scott Brison returned with the largest margin of victory of any Liberal, getting 79.3 per cent of the vote. "I got the party vote," he joked. "My girlfriend left four days before the election." ■

ON THE WEB: For more Ottawa tales or to contact Michael Kulkarni, visit [michaelk.ca/](http://michaelk.ca/) or [michaelk@post.quebec.ca](mailto:michaelk@post.quebec.ca)

# Those who don't learn from Bob Rae's mistakes...



ANDREW COYNE

It is a poignant irony that, just as Bob Rae is being urged on all sides to admit his past mistakes, everyone else about to open their Rae nearly bankrupted the province of Ontario in the last decade trying to spend

hundreds of millions, a fraction from which he claims to have drawn the appropriate lesson. Yet it seems he's the only one who has.

All across the world, leaders are drawing up plans for "fiscal stimulus," in amounts that amount to tens of billions. Japan: \$275 billion. Britain: \$100 billion. And topping them all, the United States, where Barack Obama is preparing to add another \$600 billion or so in "stimulus" over two years, now understanding a deficit that was forecast to exceed \$1 trillion as it was on top of the trillions of dollars the federal reserve has already pumped into the system. (A trillion here, a million there, pretty soon you're talking real money.)

Here at home, Stephen Harper has gone from denying any possibility of a deficit during the election, to conceding, post-election, that it was indeed possible, to winning it was probable, to dragging it off as unavoidable in the circumstances. But all of that was only prologue. Under fire from the opposition, who suggested it was not the economy but his government's extravagant spending that was to blame, Harper went one step further at last week's AGPS: came in two. No longer was the deficit an unpleasant consequence of an economic downturn. Rather it was an "essential" instrument in fighting it. "What was once a bug is now a feature."

So, to add to his ever lengthening list of free-dragging short-falls, the former deficit hawk has become a believer in fiscal stimulus. How convenient.

If only it actually worked. Yet neither theory nor evidence gives us much reason to believe it will. However many dollars may be involved

these days, and whatever its appeal as an economic cure-all (just add spending and, *voilà!*, it resolves itself), deficit spending has never actually worked as advertised. It didn't work for Bae in 1991. It didn't work for Mario Laskovic in 1982. It didn't work for the Japanese in the 1980s, the French in the 1980s, the British in the 1970s, or the Americans in the 1960s. For that matter, it didn't work for Franklin Roosevelt. (It wasn't the New Deal that finally



solving that? Isn't that the situation we are in now? Perhaps in other countries. But in Canada, bank lending is up 31 per cent over last year's pace. And, in any event, there are other ways to inject money into the system besides the banks. Such "crowding out" can be mitigated by borrowing abroad—but since foreigners can only lend us the dollars they generate lending with us, that means imports have to rise, and exports to fall, far enough to generate the required trade deficit. Again, this means no real stimulus.

There is one other alternative governments could order: central banks to finance their deficits. But any resort to the printing press must eventually lead to higher inflation, and since markets know this, tends to be reflected almost instantaneously in higher interest rates. Serious loss of life.

So the solution of this latest Harperite conversion, assuming he means it, can be predicted. It will have little or no impact on the economy. It will, however, drive us deeper into debt. To a point, that might seem tolerable: even if the deficit were to hit two per cent of GDP, the debt to GDP ratio would soon resume falling under any reasonable growth scenario.

## Deficit spending didn't even work for FDR: war, not the New Deal, ended the depression

ended the Great Depression, but the war.)

The reason it does not work is that its economy is not so simple as the highly restrictive assumptions of the pre-war model would predict. All missing government spending does not, beyond the very shortest of terms, increase aggregate demand, but merely shifts its composition, the public sector expanding at the expense of the private. It turns out you can't get something for nothing, even in macroeconomics: the money the government spends has to be extracted from elsewhere in the economy, a process that rapidly sends any monetary gains in output.

Either it is used, which obviously cancels out most of the "stimulus," or is borrowed, leaving that much less for the private sector to borrow and invest. (What about Keynes's famous "liquidity trap," wherein banks refuse to lend no matter how much money is

available? That scenario does not materialize for some time. Or suppose that, when the economy does at last revive, central banks do so slow to withdraw the liquidity they have been stuffing into the economy, as they always are, and we get a surge in inflation coming out of the recession, and the spike in interest rates that goes with it. Then the debt really starts to compound—just in time for the first wave of the baby boomers to reach retirement age, with all the stress that that will eventually impose on the public finances.

We are in serious risk of repeating the mistakes of the 1970s, '80s and '90s, in other words. Only this time we might not be able to avoid hitting the wall we now so desperately try to hurt ourselves against. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at [realcan.ca/andrewcoyne](http://realcan.ca/andrewcoyne)

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# Harper's new tack: change you can't believe in



PAUL WELLS

The damage caused by this current global economic unpleasantness is incalculable, but we can report this much, at least somewhere in all the excitement: the plan Harper holds his crystal ball

Remember Master Strategist Guy who won because he could see farther down the field than anyone else? Yeah, not so much. During the United Election Date Campaign of '05, he toured the nation reminding everyone he was a conservative—he's been doing so ever since on promises of credential recognition, but by God, he recognizes his own. He said, "My own belief is that if we were going to have some sort of big crash or recession, we probably would have had it by now." He said, "We'll never go back into deficit." He made fun of Stéphane Dine for promising to address the crisis by holding a few ministers' meeting and proposing a fiscal update. "Prime," Harper called that plan.

On the day after the election Harper called for a first ministers' meeting and a fiscal update. Two weeks later he began calling for deficit spending. Was anything missing in the Olympics of flip-flopping? Yes, same sort of big crash or recession. Well, fear not, he said the other day in Paris. It's on the way.

The PM's sudden blindness does not afflict him only when he is peering at the economy. Two years ago he showed his strategic prowess in Quebec by throwing his party's list in with Martin Dumont's Action démocratique. An economist, if Harper knew any, would have recognized that as a clear case of buying at the top of a market. On Afghanistan, Harper and Peter MacKay are now no more reliable in their forecasts for Canada's military commitment than they used to be when they expounded on the durability of the Canadian Alliance and the Progressive Conservatives.

I need to hasten this last point here



**Here's one way to have your foreign policy be 'noticed.' Babble incoherently on Afghanistan.**

increase, all leading aside, I cannot express how appalling it is. Our Prime Minister and his war minister are now saying random things about a shooting war. "Afghanistan remains NATO's number-one priority," MacKay said last week. "This is not an option of choice, it is one of necessity. We are in Afghanistan for the long term under a United Nations mandate for as long as we are needed and welcomed by the Afghan people."

Which is great, except Harper spent the election campaign saying, not only that our troops must come home in 2011, but that our NATO allies' troops should do the same. I asked a senior diplomat from one of Canada's most important allies about these pro-

statements. The reply "We just decided it couldn't be taken at face value." Well, that's just great. Harper promised a foreign policy that would "actually be needed," and he has delivered. Ah, yes, Harper. He's the Canadian who babbles incoherently about Afghanistan. We're moved.

None of this is meant to condemn the choice Canadians made when a plurality of voters elected Harper's Conservatives in October. After two years of Stéphane Dine, it's hard to call the electorate's choice a mistake. But the result is a freshly re-elected Prime Minister whose political instincts, by all the evidence, are shot.

In that moment of expert confusion and confusion, Harper will continue to confound him, all while letting the rest of the world decide his next steps. That last bit should come as a relief. In private, Harper shows

skill as an improviser. It is said to do a killer John McCain. Lady he has begun letting this side of his personality show in public. At the APAC summit in Paris, for instance, his speech sounded like Bush's. At the next global summit he will sound oddly like Barack Obama. Speaking is a genuine weakness—and he has announced he's an economic pundit—he is a less-breaking convert to the virtues of Keynesianism and inflation-fighting. London everywhere else are applying fiscal stimulus, so Harper will sometime be late too. The scale of the stimulus will reach the size of others. Obama is aiming at between \$750 billion and \$750 billion in increased across over two years. Gordon Brown brought in about \$17 billion in stimulus for the current year. That suggests the Conservatives will deliver a proportionate \$20 billion to \$25 billion in stimulus at their next budget.

So the Liberal opposition is on the wrong track when they warn about "ideologically driven spending cuts." There is spending on the way, not cuts. It will indeed be ideologically driven, but only at the margin. Given a choice, Harper will avoid spending on things that work or last, because we might conclude that's what government is for. There will, it is true, probably be more, because roads have an agreeably undecisive history to them. You can

most made. Roads don't attract rich jobs. Beyond that, Harper will look for ways to get money to where it can be spent by individuals as quickly as possible. Cheques, tax credits, vouchers, that sort of thing. You should not be surprised if he cuts the GST by another point.

In every case he will wait for Canada's neighbours, especially the Americans, to move first. He has been startled by recent events. On Oct. 30 he appointed Laurence Cannon as minister of foreign affairs and Stephen Day as trade minister. Five days later the country Harper has always viewed as a model of correct citizenship for democracy. It's the kind of thing that shakes a guy's faith in himself. ■

ON THE WEB For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at [wellsblog.ca/justwords](http://wellsblog.ca/justwords)

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# They took away his BlackBerry. Lucky man.



ANDREW POTTER

When Barack Obama won the presidency, one of the first things they did was take his BlackBerry away. My first, horrified reaction was that The Gooch had it right, a black man really has been given that nation's worst job. But after a few minutes I had changed my mind to: lucky guy.

One related case, however, seems to have been in the news recently:

- A British man was escorted by his wife after she caught his Second Life avatar hugging another woman's avatar.
- A Florida manager threatened outside live on the Internet, while hundreds of others who surfed teamed him and egged him on.

Twenty-five people were killed when two L.A. commuters mistook a red bus for a train. Another. It turned out one of the commuters was sending out messages at the time.

You could fill this magazine with similar examples: every day brings more facts of the same disorienting problem, which is our increasing inability to control the influence of new communications technologies.

We can't say we weren't warned. A decade or so ago, a Stanford law professor named Lawrence Lessig wrote a number of books arguing that a lot of what we value in our everyday lives was at risk in the coming information age, from basic personal privacy to the absence of total official surveillance, he showed that many of our freedoms were at much a problem of the rough architecture of our world as they are a matter of law or morality. Putting the pornography behind opaque barriers up high on the package rack was what protected the purity of our children. The sheer expense and difficulty in following and monitoring hundreds of millions of people is what keeps the police state at bay.

Lessig's insight applies just as well to problems like virtual adultery and wrong-way driving. Thanks to cheap, ubiquitous

and instant communications, we are more distracted at work and at play, we chest more on our partners, and it turns out that favourite player Google is not a search engine, it's a surveillance engine, giving anyone power that the firm could only have dreamed of. It's an unhappy state of affairs, and unless we do something it is only going to get worse.

So what's to be done, beyond registering with the local branch of the Luddite Underground? Google got a lot of a laugh a few weeks ago when it introduced "Mail Goggles,"

while driving, are good start, while in Ottawa, some departments of the federal government have opted (with limited success) to ban the use of email by managers after 7 p.m.

We can do more. For instance, we should run some experiments in collective self-binding, keeping away from our cellphones, Black Berries, and laptops in certain places. The key is to make their use not an option—restaurants and theatres, say, could install electronic trip sensors that make these devices inoperable. To reduce the anxiety of our doors, secretaries should turn off the com-



## Mail Goggles is a stunt but suggests a way to manage the issue of constant connectivity

a tool designed to prevent embarrassing late-night (and possibly drunken) emailing. Enabled only at night on weekends, it asks you to solve a few simple math problems before you can send an email. Mail Goggles was intended mostly as a publicity stunt, but it suggests how we might manage the most pernicious effects of constant connectivity via forms of control called "self-binding."

Probably the oldest and most brutal of self-binding was Odysseus, who knew that he wouldn't be able to resist the song of the Sirens as they tried to lure his ship onto the rocks. So he had his men lash him to the mast ahead of time, and with their leader safely bound they sailed safely on by.

There are other forms of technological self-binding floating about, such as a software program that limits the number of times you can check your email each day. But this is usually off-compared to the scope of the problem. Our issues with technology are not individual but collective. Ultimately, what we need to do is pursue effective links into the system. The law, some provisions and others have passed banning the use of cellphones

on wide Wi-Fi connections they foolishly installed. This isn't nearly as radical as it seems: we already self-bind every time we get on an airplane. For many people flying has become necessary. The trick also occurs these same of habits in our everyday lives.

The most obvious objection to these proposals is that people, especially the young, love being online. They love texting and tweeting, Facebooking and webchatting. But that love is precisely the problem. Technology is a modern-day Siren who promises the same temptations that lured Odysseus' men and knowledge.

Barack Obama is being called the first president of the Internet age, except to power by the money and voice of a great digital grassroots. He must now spend the next four years, perhaps eight, without the seductive glories of email and instant messaging. In our search for an escape from the coercive effects of technology, it would be delicious irony if Obama were the man to show us the way. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter, visit his blog at [muckman.ca/andrewpotter](http://muckman.ca/andrewpotter)

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## 'Celebrities who say, "No pictures," they're doing it for a game. If they say they're private, they create more mystery.'

PAPARAZZO RON GALELLA TALKS WITH KATE FILLION ABOUT MADONNA, JACKIE O, BRITNEY AND WHY STARS DESERVE THE PAPARAZZI

**Q** You've considered the first American paparazzo. What was the first photo you took that you'd characterize as a paparazzi shot?

**A:** I would say my first picture of Jackie [Kassidy] in May 1967: She came to the White House gallery [in New York] and it was impossible to get good pictures. It was too crowded, so I followed her back to her apartment, which is how I got inside of her coming out of the limo. There was no interference, no bodyguards, no crowds.

**Q:** Why weren't other photographers already following celebrities to try to get these kinds of shots?

**A:** Most of the photographers were staffers on the newspapers and magazines, and only went out on assignments, to events. As a freelancer, you can't wait for assignments; you'll starve. Paparazzi photography is not a hard event. It's about creating another photo op at their apartment after the event, perhaps, or no event at all, you just follow someone going to dinner.

**Q:** At first, were magazines reluctant to buy those kinds of pictures?

**A:** They wanted those pictures. *Newsweek*, *Time*, *Life*, the *National Enquirer*, but also the fan magazines—there were 15 or 20 of them, like *Photoplay* and *Modern Screen*—were all competing for pictures.

**Q:** How early on was it possible to make a good living doing this?

**A:** I was doing good by 1967. I made half

my living off Jackie. I was able to focus on her because I was not preoccupied with a girlfriend, and I was not married yet, and was free to go out and it was an adventure to follow her. I was a naturalist man, a workaholic. I'd develop the pictures at night, sometimes until three in the morning, then I'd go up and shoot right off the contact sheets, and start over again.

**Q:** How do you think your photos of stars measure up to those of, say, Richard Avedon or Anne Leibovitz?

**A:** Studio photographers like Avedon do their work by appointment, and they can get better lighting and better backgrounds, but they may not get the spontaneity I get.

**Q:** Whose pictures do you like better?

**A:** I like mine better. Not technically, there are better technically in terms of lighting and so on, but mine capture the fleeting expression you get when stars see themselves. You see, stars are usually acting. But I get them in their moment, when they're not acting, they're themselves. I don't want them looking in my camera, I want them doing something, talking to each other, being themselves. That's what I capture, their realistic expressions rather than poses.

**Q:** It looks like dangerous work, judging by the number of stars in your new book, *No Pictures*, of stars and bodyguards crying to get you or other photographers. Were you ever scared?

**A:** Not really. When Beardo hit me, it was a surprise. I never saw the punch, I was look-

ing at Dick Cavett. To this day I don't know why he did it. I followed Beardo and Cavett to Christies [in New York], they were going out to dinner, and took about 10 shots. Beardo then called me over and says, "What else do you want that you don't already have?" I looked at Cavett, who knew me, and said, "Well, how about a shot without the sunglasses?" Before he could answer, Beardo just dragged me, knocked five teeth out of my lower jaw. I took a handkerchief in my mouth and drove to Bellvue to get stitched up. The next day, I also got a picture of Beardo running out of his hotel, his head bandaged and swollen from infection from the broken front of my teeth. He was in the hospital three days, recovering. I was an out-of-court settlement of \$20,000, but a third of that went to the lawyers and then the rest I spent repairing my teeth. It took three months to get it right, and I had nothing left over. A year later, when Beardo had a press conference, I came prepared with a football helmet.

**Q:** Which star or celebrity did you most enjoy photographing?

**A:** Number one was Jackie, only because she didn't pose, you see. If somebody says and poses, you have to take the picture, say thank you and leave. If they don't stop and pose, you don't feel no guilt then. You can go on and on and on [choking].

**Q:** Any celebrities you actually came to dislike?

**A:** Sonja Perna, he's a bad boy. And Bich-

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CHRISTOPHER WINTER/GETTY IMAGES

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and Barbra, he was the worst, worse even than Brando.

**Q: What's it like to photograph Madonna?**  
**A:** Madonna is pretty natural, she doesn't run. See, most of the stars want publicity. Of course they want to control it, they want to be ready, but most stars like to be photographed. Most of them are blabbing about it, they say "No problem!" They're just pretending they don't do it. The only celebrity I would say was very sincere was Greta Garbo.

**Q: What place is in your book? Didn't you feel bad photographing that elderly woman, whose clothes suggest she was trying to remain anonymous, holding a Rolodex up to cover her face?** She was begging you to go away.

**A:** I did go away.  
**Q:** And you printed the photo. Didn't your conscience have even a twinge?

**A:** Not really. As a photographer, anything goes, you want. I understood she doesn't want it, but I could've photographed her all the way to her door and I didn't. I stopped after four or five pictures.

**Q:** Does she expect a star more who genuinely doesn't want publicity?

**A:** Yes. I got the picture and leave, I don't keep photographing for blocks and blocks, I'm not sadistic. Here's where I got one up on them: I pre-focus my camera, this has been my technique. I set somebody and surprise them, shoot fast, then they say, "No problem!" And I leave. But I already got one or two, you see. That's how you win. Randy did a roll earlier's name. I have doing this, like you're begging for a picture.

**Q:** If a person who won't be famous asked you to stop shooting, would you go along?

**A:** No. I usually respect their wishes.

**Q:** Do you have an ethical code, a line you won't cross to get a photo?

**A:** I do not go on that property. I got pictures of Doris Day after her divorce, with her dogs, but I was on the adjacent property, the gardener said it was okay, and I shot through the hedge with a long lens.

**Q:** In your book you say, "Famous people photography is a lie." Explain what you mean.

**A:** The three big names were Jackie, Liz Taylor and Diana [Princess of Wales], they disappeared from around the world. They're gone—except for Liz, though she didn't get out much.

**Q:** It's over because the stars aren't as big?

**A:** Yes. Today we have Rush Limbaugh, Barryman Spear, Lindsay Lohan, people who rely more on showing their own success and staying things that they do. They're not the stars of yesterday, who mental their celebrity with talent.

**Q:** Today the focus seems to be making them look as strange as possible.

**A:** Right. I didn't go far that. I was seeing glamour, realistically. You could look beautiful with your expressions, without makeup. I was concentrating more on the face, the head gestures, than on the bad things. The paparazzi years ago, as I tell in three or four, they provided stars to make an incident so they could tell the pictures. It's harder today, especially in Los Angeles. They want the star to fall down or fight, because incidents like that sell the pictures.

**Q:** Some of the stars you photograph frequently, like Warren Beatty, actually seem to miss for the camera.

**A:** Yes. He liked me a lot. He said, "You're getting more publicity than the stars!"

**Q:** You've got a lot of pictures of Jackie run away from you, or jolting at you. Did it bother you that she didn't like you?

**A:** I think she's a hypocrite. I think she liked me.

**Q:** What makes you think that?

**A:** One night, she was at 33 in New York, and she came out and grabbed my wrist, pinned me with her elbow against the latrine, and said in that low voice, "You've been hanging out for three months now." This was earlier. Later, "You, you!" I was surprised to see, she's saying she liked to be pinned.

**Q:** I would tell a star the opposite way, especially since she subsequently took you to court and won an expensive case that you couldn't take either's name. I have doing this, like you're begging for a picture.

**A:** Well, it's hard to understand Jackie. Here's the way it went. In 1968 I got pictures of Jackie and John, on a beach. She didn't like the children to be photographed, she wants them to lead a private, normal life.

**Q:** Didn't you expect that?

**A:** No. I think it's a public peck, she's a public person. And people have a right to know what John is. Jackie like.

**Q:** You're talking about a woman whose last husband and son-in-law were assassinated, who had good reason to fear for her children's lives.

**A:** Well, in her mind maybe that's true, but it's not. Even in court, she denied she's a public figure. Her lawyer asked, "Is there public interest in you?" She said, "No. They don't care about me." What she didn't understand is that once you're a celebrity, a First Lady, you can't turn it off. You're not a machine. Once a celebrity, always a celebrity.

**Q:** So, she, she didn't sound like a person who on any way actually wanted you to photograph her.

**A:** Well, I dated one of her maids, and she and Jackie had a whole closet full of books of press clippings, and I caught her three

times at least, buying magazines where she'd be in it.

**Q:** Did you dare the maid to get information now about Jackie?

**A:** I liked the maid, but I did it more for information. And actually, one day she told me and I was sitting in front of the building, and Jackie appeared. The next day she was fired. I had had about that.

**Q:** Did you sleep for eight after?

**A:** More or less, yeah. I wasn't that interested in her.

**Q:** So what contribution do you think your photography has made to society?

**A:** I've got a record of what people are or were, and to me, it's a most truthful, realistic account than credited, posed pictures.

**Q:** I heard someone making a documentary about you. Did you find that amusing, being followed around?



**Jackie was smart. And I'm lucky because she made my name famous through the court trials.'**

**A:** No. I think it. See, it's normal for people to be photographed. People like seeing their name in print, or hearing their name. It's almost it makes them feel important, and people like to feel important. That's the normal, natural way of humanity. And a lot of these celebrities who, "No, no, no," they're doing it for a game. When they say they're person, they get more publicity, more interest, and they even more, mystery, Jackie was smart. She never gave interviews, it was very hard to get one. And I'm lucky because she made my name famous. ■

# B.C.'S SWEET SPOT

## Can the province dodge a downturn this time around?

**BY JASON KIRBY** • "Once a piece of this corner history," bedrock a bowling lane once sign advertising a condominium project in the city's downtown core. But for those who herald the city, the only thing is by claim to rise in a gaping hole in the ground. Last week one of the bars in financing the proposed 77-story project backed out and work at the site was halted. A similar scenario has played out at similar scales across the Lower Mainland. Meanwhile, but now continues to sell in from British Columbia's forestry coast, with real-estate listings an almost weekly event. Last month B.C. lost \$280 million, the biggest drop of any province. Such is the loss of a "have" province these days.

When B.C.'s Finance Minister Colin Hanks presented his economic update this week, he confirmed what many here already suspected: B.C. is not immune to the financial crisis. The slowdown has chopped \$504 million from the province's revenues this year, while B.C.'s budget surplus has shrunk to \$430 million, down from the \$1 billion that was projected just two months ago.

But concerned to the malaise in the rest of the country, that hardly counts as hard times. Which is exactly the message of relatively the growing Liberals, with just six months before the next provincial election, are so desperate to get across to B.C.'s neglected "core." I think British Columbia is better positioned than probably any other province in Canada," Hansen, who is also the minister responsible for the Vancouver 2010 Olympics, told Maclean's last week. So avoid the province, known infamously as colder denser for its mild winters, also dodge the worst of the economic blizzard sweeping the rest of the country? Some economists say yes, in the short term at least.

The possibility that B.C. could outperform other provinces says a great deal about how grim the situation is expected to get elsewhere in Canada. In B.C.'s forestry sector, dozens of mills have been closed as a result of slumping demand from the U.S., throwing them made out of work. Vancouver's once red-hot housing market, meanwhile, is expected to be particularly hard hit as prices tumble. But the fact is, B.C. leads into the downturn with

for most value-added taxes than almost any province or state in North America. The current, it claims, is the second lowest debt-per-capita level in Canada, second only to Alberta, which has been debt-free since 2004. One of the latest round of tax cuts takes effect, B.C. will also boast the lowest corporate tax rate of any jurisdiction in the G8 group of countries. And while unemployment in B.C. jumped half a percentage point to 5.1 per cent last month, it is still well below the national average of 6.2 per cent. Even with B.C.'s shrinking surplus, Hansen is one of the few finance ministers anywhere who can say "there will not be deficits" while becoming a provincial fact.

The B.C. Liberals have certainly tried to present themselves as the steady hand at the till. Last month Premier Gordon Campbell

but it doesn't have anything like the auto tax, or oil sands sector that's being squeezed so badly," says Roger Gibbins, CEO of the Canada West Foundation. "The assessment is that B.C. is better off, in relative terms."

A lot depends on what type of recession the ultimately nastiest one to be. If B.C. avoids the worst effects of the downturn, it won't be the last time. When the Canadian economy ground to a halt in the early 1990s, B.C. emerged almost unscathed. Even as the country's gross domestic product slumped by 4.5 per cent in 1990, and another 1.7 per cent in 1991, B.C. managed to grow by 1.6 per cent. If B.C. also produced more jobs, while many other provinces were awash in pink slips. One of the province's saving graces was its limited exposure to the troubled U.S.

**BOOSTERS:** Finance Minister Colin Hansen (below), the Olympic Oval under construction



## B.C. IS POISED TO HAVE THE LOWEST CORPORATE TAX RATE IN THE G8

start on TV, a province-wide address to lay out his 30-point economic plan, including innovative tax cuts, spending freezes, selected deposit insurance for credit unions and the acceleration of infrastructure projects. Meanwhile, Haseen has been out speaking with the media on every opportunity to tallopp the province's prospects. B.C.'s economy is far more diverse than it once was, he says. While the province generates much of its revenues from natural gas, its technology, mining, exploration, tourism and construction sectors have all been strong. Economies like B.C. high marks for diversification, but they also say the province, like all others, will be "battered" by falling consumer confidence. B.C. is not immune, to all these bad things.

manufacturing sector. That sounds as if it will be like what's happening now. Ontario, which is chained to the U.S. auto industry, will be hardest hit. U.C., on the other hand, has worked to strengthen ties to countries such as China, India and Japan through its Pacific Gateway Initiative.

Not that it *should* take too much comfort from luxury booms. When the global economy skidded to a halt in the early 1930s, B.C. fared far worse than many other provinces. That downturn touched off a two-decade bear market in commodity prices that halved western provinces' first four years that commodity prices are once again headed south, as demand from Asia lessens. The worst of all possible worlds would see the

user collapse of not just the U.S. economy, but also emerging markets in Asia. If that happens, the province is safe.

Helping that B.C. has several agencies to run. It will also track infrastructure spending, which might help offset some of the slowdown in the construction sector. Harman points to plans to upgrade the province's huge network of resource roads as one engine of growth. The province will also speed up its 15-year, \$1.5-billion program to perform science upgrades on public schools, realizing them in the event of an earthquake.

And then there are the Games. From the moment the Olympics were first awarded to Vancouver and Whistler in 2000, they have held an almost mythical sway over the province for their purported power to elevate real estate markets. While several statistics have debunked that idea, the 2010 Olympics are starting to look like the ace up B.C.'s sleeve. "The timing looks really good," says Gibbins. "Going into next year there's not a lot of good stuff happening out there, so the Olympics could offer some sort of boost."

Whether this will add up to a third Liberal



majority is impossible to tell. One Ipsos Reid poll last week gave the Liberals a nine-point lead over the provincial NDP, yet days earlier an Angus Reid poll put the NDP ahead.

There is some the Liberts are merely stealing a page from the Stephen Harper election handbook, specifically the section on maintaining a pool party face right up until securing a victory, at which point you finally admit to how bad things really are. But in British Columbia barely for the slow down, they might spare a thought for an old sawn that's been making the rounds of late: "I used to complain that I had no shoes, but I met a man that had no feet." The connotation, of course, may rubble the province, but at least it's likely to remain unseen. ■

# TROUBLE IN EDEN

must boost the Heritage Fund to \$100 billion by 2030—otherwise it risks having to raise the average tax rate a crippling 40 per cent over the next 15 years to make up the difference on shrinking oil patch size. That Munn saluted his findings back in January says just how anxious the government has been to make them public.

Still, this week was no add-a-race as it was on Wednesday. Still, it did help to lower the popularity Alberta was to charge oil and gas companies, a move stirred at stimulus for economic growth now that drilling has declined. The premier had unveiled new higher royalties just over a year ago when commodity prices were soaring. Now the framework has been tweaked again, reducing Alberta's take from some new conventional wells for five years (oil and gas ending with aren't affected by the changes). Then, early this week, he fiddled again, moving up the date for the weakened leases from June 1 to Nov. 1, because companies had been readily cancelling oil contracts to wait for the more attractive royalties.

CCPSI Evans had projected a huge surplus.



## ONE REPORT SEES ALBERTA IN DEFICIT IN FIVE YEARS

Critics of all the market Strohacks look alike. Worse, because the higher royalty rates had never actually taken effect, the province never reaped the rewards of the oil boom. *Mr. Alberta missed the oil bonanza entirely, then, with profits off 110% from July 1981 to 1982 a year ago—close on, man, we were growing like crazy then!*" says Regional Municipality of Wood Buffalo Councillor Mike Allen, of Fort McMurray, who runs a multimillion-dollar oil-refining-toil-and-workers, had one of his bare shoulders one last month, slumped over. Confused? So very likely is Strohack. But stirring Alberta through swelling, falling oil in life-performing-debt-of-hand-on-the-high-sea. Sooner or later, the rabbits run wild. ■



# MAD ABOUT ATVS

**Who'd think the Nova Scotia Tories would buy ATVs for kids?**

**BY DARRYL BAE DOWNTON** • Nova Scotia's minority Conservative government used its alternative procurement process this past June to spend \$130,000 on 66 kid-sized all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) and gear, touting the buy as a means of training a new generation of off-roaders. At the same time, a class of third-graders in Glace Bay—eight- and nine-year-olds—went on summer vacation packing not only repair cards but, compliments of an ATV manufacturers' group, DVD's starring Rascal Rascals, a cartoon off-roader who shows kids how to "drive safe." Taken from Minister Karen Coombs to the CDC, that schools are a good place to teach children safety. "We live in a rural province," she said. "ATVs are very much a part of [the] lifestyle." Another cabinet minister, under attack by the MLA for Glace Bay who promoted the distribution of the DVD's to kids in his constituency, then threatened to sue plans for a new middle school long-promised there. He was joking, he said later.

But by now few Nova Scotians find ATVs funny. The kiddie-ATV buy, and the Rascal Rascals DVD giveaway, ignited a furor in a province where the little bums over ATVs

have already been clearly driven. On one side are off-roaders and the provincial government. On the other are homeowners complaining that they are irrevocably the victims day and night, and that for nine years the Tories have overturned municipal ATV bans and outlawed dogs and most of their privacy and property rights to "rural hospitals" and the rural vote. But with tourism already high, the government's help in involving children in off-roading was a shock and a flapshoot.

In Nova Scotia, despite years of warnings from ER docs that kids under 16 shouldn't be on ATVs anywhere, even as passengers, the province allows parents to register ATV drivers as young as six. Catastrophe: ATV injuries and deaths are up as kids, says Dr. Doug Sealant, chief of emergency medicine at Halifax's children's hospital. A report by the Canadian Pediatric Society in 2004 said that 2,506 Canadians are hospitalized each year as a result of ATV injuries. Half of all deaths are children under 16. "More ATVs are a disaster," Sealant says. "They're still powerful vehicles that are accessible in the hands of children. Using public funds to purchase them boggles the mind."

Jessie Anderson of ATVANS, the ATV Association of Nova Scotia, says he doesn't know if doctors have weighed all the facts, but he claims parents have. Anderson's kids, aged 10 and 12, ride with him. He says "responsible"

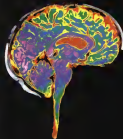
A PROVINCIAL government ban on ATVs in Paradise, N.S., lasted 10 months before the same government reversed it.

off-roading is approved by the vast majority of Nova Scotians. But public safety, a race thing in Nova Scotia, forced the province to off-load the kiddie machines to ATVANS, which promised repayment riding down its wouldn't identify. They turned out to be ATV manufacturers, with whom ATVANS claims no official connection. In six months the manufacturers have been paid for 35 cars on the dollar, according to a government spokesperson who says there's no guarantee of recovering more. Taxpayers wait on the promise of Arctic Cat, Honda, Kawasaki, et al.—while ATVANS enjoys 66 free machines.

Far down from the 41,427 Nova Scotia-registered ATVs reported by a manufacturer's national umbrella group in 2005, Nova Scotia registered 73,406 ATVs last year (May go unregistered). Halifax's 3,000 run in the city outskirts where the province trains its municipal police before. The rest are rural. The province "wouldn't be too young before 10/16 earlier rural voters," says an observer who wouldn't be named for fear of reprisal from off-roaders. This year, registrations are down again, by 13 per cent. Rob Connell, for 25 years a supervisor of trails in Nova Scotia and now retired, says it's a three-year North American trend reflecting market saturation. "Who's your next target? Kids," he says. "It's like Big Brother. They're not even kids, you're not even eight years old."

In 2006 the province attacked an all-highway vehicle (OHV) advisory committee first was to include all stakeholders in the ongoing conflict. But doctors were dismissed and left a year ago, and municipalities, whose OHV bans are continuously overruled by the province, chose never to attend. Connell has a seat on the committee but he's leaving. The Canadian OHV Highway Vehicle Distribution Council, the national industry group that came up with Rascal Rascals, has a committee member; another seat is held by a dealer. Other off-roaders hold 15 more of the 25 seats, with the manufacturers' and dealers' reps, they make up 90 per cent of the committee, since four of the remaining six seats are now vacant. According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, ATVs made before 2006 drove 35 times the emissions of cars, and environmentalists routinely deny OHVs for wrecking wilderness and ruining trails. But judging by committee minutes, the local environmental rep hasn't spoken in a year. "He's not contributory," says Mark Dietrich of the Sierra Club. The new member chair did not return calls.

The new group never represented, Connell says, "was 95 per cent of Nova Scotians"—who,



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for the most part, don't realize they help fund Nova Scotia's 930 km of "motorized" trails (a trail that walkers, runners, bikers, cyclists and horseback riders can share with OHV users is called), or that they contribute to salaries and operating costs of some OHV lobbyists via funds passed out by a Department of Health Protection and Promotion. When asked for salary amounts, a department spokesperson did not reply. Federal taxpayers also contribute to trail-building for motorized vehicles, maintenance, and the operation of some bikeparks via the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. In one case, ACOA's \$402,158 contribution to a 44.6 km walking trail went to develop a motorized trail instead.

Unfortunately, say trail-building fund—about \$3.2 million last year—comes from OHV users themselves. Calling "a few" wilderness areas and one village trail for unimproved traffic, Anderson says that motorized trails don't get more government money than unimproved

areas. "Now we have wheelchair on the emergency, farmers' fields, people's lawns—about two stories high," reports a Paradise resident who won't be named. "Night riders are scary and noisy, sometimes impaired." (Like a number of trails that some riders drive drunk in order to avoid police on highways, Paradise's ends in a pub.) A jogger,

recounting the harm because at flip-flop submitted its own policy rules for charging bonding agreements. He's making judicial effort to return the trail to nature.

Meanwhile, a senior government official has said he hopes the Paradise reversal will be imposed on other communities. In Smith's Cove, a pretty seaside village further down the valley, it's already happened—in an OHV ban has now followed down, not along with property rights. Smith's Cove homeowner Galloway says, "The rules changed. When you're in the position you might as well be on the trail. No one wanted it. Why is it here?"

The province's June 2007 "Progress Report" promises 500 more km of trails for an extension credit around the province. OHV "will soon increase to new trails and riding areas," the report says. New highway designs will connect them. For years in cutting it off in the neighbourhood, OHV have screamed past houses overnight. Now more routes will go through more communities—through more of the yards, private farms and wooded the province allows them to cross.

The statewide Trans-Canada Trail, originally designated as non-motorized by the federal government that has developed since 1975, will no longer prohibit OHV on its Nova Scotia routes. Dunlop says the TC Trail shouldn't have developed trails where OHV run. Neither should it have agreed in October to legitimate OHV on its Nova Scotia trails. "Every other province, except for remote areas of Alberta and Newfoundland, refuses you don't have motorized traffic on a national trail," Dunlop says. "We stick out like a sore thumb. Look at PEI's Canoeing Trail. It's done right, it's a nature attraction. It should be a no-brainer." M

## 'USING PUBLIC FUNDS TO PURCHASE MINI-ATVS BOGGLES THE MIND'



TRAIL, REARVIEW: (bottom) Police is part of a group supporting the use of trails for non-motorized traffic (top). RCMP stop a driver to help fix a broken-down "off-road" vehicle to make his engine louder.

and trails. But a health department spokesperson says the department would not refer to 5) km of unimproved trails in the province. That's about 10 per cent of all trails. The rest are motorized. Council says OHV have "a government gas tax. Non-motorized trails return their costs directly to the user in health care savings. Motorized traffic cost eight to 10 times more to maintain. It's not it's all men."

The OHV lobby has demonstrated a can-hobble community consensus, hijack public consultations, and prison laws. At least that's what seems to have happened in Paradise, a hamlet on the Antapish River where a provincial government ban on ATVs lasted 10 months before the same government

made, garbage stream trail divides former George Lilly's house from his house, just yards from each building. "It's unfortunate," says Anderson. "But the trail isn't on [Lilly's] property and technically doesn't go through his backyard." Dale Dunlop, a lawyer representing Paradise homeowners pro bono, says the government acted above the law by

in October to legitimate OHV on its Nova Scotia trails. "Every other province, except for remote areas of Alberta and Newfoundland, refuses you don't have motorized traffic on a national trail," Dunlop says. "We stick out like a sore thumb. Look at PEI's Canoeing Trail. It's done right, it's a nature attraction. It should be a no-brainer." M



## CANDIDATE FOR SPEAKER ALSO A GOOD CATERER

"I enjoyed some pretty good hospitality down in Merritt's suite, mostly in the service and food," says a source who is considering, at least, his put on a damn good spread—"HOF Member of Parliament Pat Martin on the hospitality suite set up by Conservative MP Merritt Tweed, who ran for Speaker of the House during last week's motion-free debate vote. Despite his catering prowess Tweed did not win the vote.

ANDREW VANDERKAM/STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER







**GUNS AND FEAR** Seizing a suspected bandit (left), a violent protest (below), arrests in a narcotics hunt. No part of Mexican society has been left untouched by the drug cartels



# MEXICO'S CIVIL WAR

**Powerful drug cartels are challenging the government's control of parts of the nation**

BY MICHAEL PETERSON • *Like no law?* It is another that is difficult, if not impossible, to refuse for thousands of Mexican police, judges, and politicians tasked with confronting Mexico's powerful drug cartels. There is no loose money. Lead is a bullet to the head of the nation is shaky. The markers of uncaptured the justice officials, and others who cross the cartels, have become increasingly prominent of law. Schoolings are common

For decades, during the 70 years that Mexico was effectively a one-party state run by the Institutional Revolutionary Party, a tacit understanding existed between drug cartels and the others of full levels of government and state institutions that it was better to choose the silver. This does not mean that everyone from the president on down was on the take. But there was a pervasive lack of political will to confront the cartels, and when drug lords could count on politicians staying in office regardless of how many elections they might lose, it made sense to seek mutually beneficial arrangements.

Mexico's transition to real democracy changed all this. Vicente Fox's election in

2000 broke the Institutional Revolutionary Party's grip on Mexico and shook up the status quo that allowed many cartels to prosper quietly. Their most serious challenge, however, came with the 2006 election of Felipe Calderon who, with the backing of the United States, has been more aggressive than any previous president about confronting the cartels and the police and politicians they have corrupted. He sent the army into cartel strongholds, and his government has purged thousands of compromised police and law enforcement officials.

But the more who are exposed, the deeper it becomes. Just the other day, in five meetings of an elite organized crime unit in Mex-

ico's attorney general's office were arrested the full set of charges of taking high cash payoffs from the federal Laporte, including the secret information on two drug operations. Reports also emerged that the cartel had an informant inside the U.S. Embassy. Kinds on cartels have seized high-profile drug lords, but these raids have had the same effect as throwing rocks at walls of homes. The cartels are fighting back. And as cartel leaders are arrested or killed, the federal authorities must arrest themselves and against other cartels in a battle for influence and turf.

The amount of money to make enormous Mexico is now a problem as well as a temptation for cocaine, heroin, marijuana, cocaine,

and marijuana. The restriction of narcotics traffic from Colombia through the Caribbean has increased the flow to Mexico. A booming cross-border trade with the United States provides cover. Drugs in Mexico are now a \$80-billion-a-year industry.

The result is what one of Mexico's most prominent daily newspapers, *El Universal*, calls a "war" and what John Bailey, a professor of government and foreign service at Georgetown University, describes as a "heroin war." More than 4,600 people have been killed and drug-related violence this year. Drug cartels have established training camps in the badlands near the United States border. Devisers from Mexico special for U.S. units, trained by the Americans and originally used to target the cartels, have switched sides and now form a paramilitary group known as Las Zetas that can out-guns and out-maneuver many of the legitimate soldiers sent to apprehend them. They are led by an ex-soldier named Mariberto "the Educator" Lasso, who is rumored to feed victims to lions he keeps on a ranch.

There are parts of Mexico, especially near the border with United States, where the cartels are so powerful that their members can hang recruiting banners in public spaces warning police to "don't touch us." The mayor of one city near the border told a local reporter that a cartel was sponsoring cadets at the police academy; none are the drug lords would have allies among the police after the cadets' graduation. Police who don't shift their allegiance face a grim future. Earlier this year, a headmaster warning placed at a monument to fallen police in the border city of Ciudad Juarez listed the names of 22 police commanders who, the note said, "will don't believe" the cartels' reach and power. Seven were subsequently murdered, and all but one of the survivors quit. Danilo Guecochea, Mexico's ambassador to Canada, told *Maclean's* he's approached by parents of Mexican police asking for his help getting their sons to Canada. Their sons have refused to cut deals with the drug cartels and fear they will die unless they get out of Mexico.

Mexico's finance minister has blamed the crisis for deepening the economy—among the 15 largest in the world, and one that is tied to Canada's through the North American Free Trade Agreement. The greater danger, however, is the fabric of Mexico's democracy. "The overall assumption of powerability, in the sense of the government convincing its own people that it can really govern and control territory, is in doubt," says Bailey, the Georgetown professor. "These gangs, in particular areas of the country, effectively challenge the government for control over roads and territory."

Bailey's assessment is bleak but not unique. "There are areas where they are supplanting the government, really controlling the government," says Shannon O'Hara, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. She says this occurs at a local rather than national level. The cartels' primary aspirations are about power and money, not politics, and as opposition from a city mayor or police chief often sits at a local level to ensure the ruling of cartels. But it is not the only path of the cartels could expand into higher levels of government. "This could get worse," she says. "Calderon has stopped up his attack at a time when Mexico was reaching a tipping point where you might go into a failed state. That's where the battle is now."

One of the more unexpected of Mexico's drug wars is in Rosamonte Beach, a small city of 10,000 in the state of Baja California, just south of the U.S. border and San Diego. It was once a popular vacation destination for American college students, and there still is a large Latin population in

PHOTO COURTESY OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

sons. But families, where several sons from Tijuana were killed, is nearby, and an ad hoc museum displays men from the movie.

Torres is down these days, though. At least 15 people have been murdered in drug-related violence since September, including seven police. Heavily armed soldiers roll through the city.

The man charged with keeping the public safe in Rosarito is Hugo Torres, the 72-year-old mayor. Torres, who was previously mayor during the 1990s, says he got back into politics because he was frustrated by the rampant crime in his city and the infiltration of the police force by drug cartels. "I own a hotel," he says. "It's hard to move it to Canada, so I decided to come in and change the town. I love this town. I cannot see the thing going the other way and not do anything about it."

Torres's first days as mayor made clear the severity of the task he faced. "When I began my job, my chief of police did not want to do much with the criminals and rejected their offers, so they tried to kill him. They killed his cousin," Torres told Maclean's.

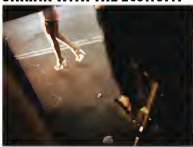
It got worse. Torres discovered that 12 police officers were involved in the plot to kill his chief. More witnesses were afraid to testify, but two of the officers were nevertheless uncovered. The man resigned, so, Torres says, "We got rid of them." Shortly after the shooting, Torres's own life was threatened. The mayor realized his house needed to be defended out. He made every police officer in Rosarito take a fingerprint test and, with help from the United States, wiped their bank records and backgrounds, looking for hidden traces of money or other evidence that might indicate who was loyal to the cartels. He fired half the police force and brought in the army and federal police.

"It was necessary, because the force of these guys was too strong, and our policemen were not trustworthy," he says. Torres raised the salaries of his remaining police, and of new recruits, and started training programs with American police. But resignations are still common, and in October police in Rosarito marched on City Hall to ask for bulletproof vests and more guns.

Despite all this, Torres is confident about the future. "It is the first decade that the federal government decides to fight crime like this," he says. "This is making a big difference. The organized crime was more organized than we were in the past. Now, we are organized better than the criminals. We are a much bigger force. How long it will take to win the fight, I don't know. It's optimistic," Torres says. Things aren't all that bad now. Torres and normal citizens are never targeted, he says. The problem is gangster killing gangs. The same thing is happening in American



## THE RESOURCES MEXICO USES TO FIGHT DRUG CARTELS MAY SHRINK WITH THE ECONOMY



cities, he says, and nobody pays in such amounts.

There are American cities with comparable levels of violence. But overall, order rules in Mexico are still among the highest in the world. Canadian violence levels in Mexico have been among recent victims. And while the violence is worrying, more serious is the cor-

ruption of the security services, state institutions, and elected politicians.

Victor Clerk-Affaire, a professor at San Diego State University and director of the Balfanz Center for Human Rights in Tijuana, Mexico, told Maclean's that drug cartels have frustrated anti-drug political campaigns. When he made these accusations publicly, he

says, the allegedly corrupt politicians threatened him in the human rights center where he works. "It has reached the point that it is putting in threat the first enemy of our country—the presence of democracy and the state itself," says Clerk-Affaire. Shannon O'Neill, the Council on Foreign Relations fellow, has similar worries. Critics don't need to be directly affected by the violence, she says, to lose confidence in the state and thereby weaken its democracy in four dimensions. "If you don't have a functioning public secur-

ty system, which means everything from a local policeman or woman, through federal investigations and judges that rule based on the merits of the case, you have no protection from the vagaries of last-minute decisions or demands," he says. "And you can't have a rule of democracy if you don't have basic safety and human rights."



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Felipe Calderón has made counterattacks drug lords the defining note of his government. He ordered raids on the cartels immediately upon assuming office, and since then has spent billions of dollars continuing to chase them. It's also successfully convinced the United States that the Mexican

drug war threatens America, too. The U.S. Congress agreed to spend \$18.9 billion on Mexico this year as part of the "Mérida Initiative," which provides training, equipment, and intelligence to combat drug trafficking.

"It's a transnational problem, and we both recognize that we can only solve it by working together," a State Department official told Maclean's.

Several Mexican cartels already operate in American cities, and sometimes consider them as bases in Mexico locally up to the border. Dozens of gangster victims, wounded in Mexico, have been treated at the county hospital in El Paso, Texas, which then made them guarded but the authorities purge their victims from the border and into the hospital to finish them off. The United States is also engaged in Mexico's drug war because it is largely American who get the drugs.

It also won't get any more affordable. The vast majority of Mexico's exports go to the United States, which is in the midst of a financial crisis, and dropping oil prices will further strain Mexico's economy. The four security agencies in the United States and the United States will increasingly without better order to impose order, and that means the population would accept this.

"Every time you have increased insecurity, there are stronger men who gain support by promising to bring security," says Leonardo Martínez Ortiz, a Mexican politician at the Brookings Institution. "Politicians who make this brand of politics tend to gain in popularity when citizens lose faith in public institutions and their capacity to protect them."

This isn't a surprise in Mexico, Martínez Ortiz says. Calderón has strong democratic instincts, and it's actually his middle-class supporters would tolerate any serious authoritarianism from their government. Shannon O'Neill notes that the Mexican Congress has passed legislation empowering that human rights and the rule of law be preserved even as some leaders are hunted down. "In that sense I think that Mexico's democracy, given the severity of the crime, given the severity of the security threat, is still functioning fairly well," he says. But it's hardly flawless. Amnesty International claims that arbitrary detentions, torture, and violations of due process rights of criminal suspects are common.

Calderón's defenders might counter that the situation in Mexico could be much, much worse. Drug war in Colombia resulted in that country in the 1990s, fueled the growth of worldwide paramilitary groups,

**CHINA: SINGERS HAVE TO STOP MOUTHING OFF**  
The Beijing government is not deterred by the death of a singer and is punishing the measure is aimed only at professional musicians and will limit them to singing songs and pretending to play instruments only once every two years. Performers will risk losing their licenses if they break the law, which amounts to a complete ban on more than 20 per cent of musicians and singers actually perform live at concerts.





A WIDOW WITH her children, she sells gum and candy to pay for their next meal.

and funded an insurgent guerrilla organization, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, that still controls thousands of square kilometers of Colombia's jungle. Compared to Colombia during the 1970s and '80s, Mexico is a livelier and plezier place. Compared with other Post-World War II democracies, however, Mexico is at a precariously position, and progress is unlikely to occur

quickly or easily. It faces an enemy that is financed by addicts in the United States, when Mexico's ability to affect demand for drugs is negligible. The resources Mexico has to deploy against the cartels are also limited, and will likely shrink as its economy is buffeted.

Child labor, in addition to confront the cartels, took on a massive challenge, but he also understood that while turning a blind eye to

their spreading influence and the corruption of state institutions might have avoided, or at least delayed, some of the bloodshed now afflicting Mexico, it would also have crippled Mexico's growth into a mature democracy. In the short term, however, Mexico will likely face further turmoil. "Now that the war among the cartels, and between the cartels and the government, have ended, they have to be fought to a close," says David Maerz, a professor of political science at the University of California at San Diego, who expects the violence to get worse.

There are reasons to be cautiously hopeful, however. Rosario Becerra, for example, is still a dangerous town, but it no longer has the same reputation for corruption that it did only a few years ago. Hugo Torres, the new mayor, credits the federal government and state government for taking a stand against both the cartels and corruption, as he finds support doing the same. "In Rosario Beach, we're higher than half a dozen," he says, when asked about the progress he's made since assuming office last year. He says the police are now under his control, and more citizens support him. Becerra is still far from ideal, though. The mayor has a waterfront house. He also sits in the arena behind it. Armed guards protect the house. ■

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O'NEILL



## New leader too hawkish for S. Korea

**BY GABRIEL AINSWORTH-VINCE •** To increase his chances of winning South Korea's presidential election, last year, Lee Myung-bak pledged to revitalize the economy, implement tougher policies toward North Korea and strengthen ties with the United States. At the time it appeared that the conservative Myung-bak had captured the mood of the country, and won the election in a landslide. But since taking office in February, President Myung-bak's administration has promoted some rather hawkish ideas that are raising the ire of many South Koreans.

First came plans to force North Korean units in the north's most sensitive regions to adhere to stricter labor and trade rules. The proposal, said in the implementation stage, was to curb negative commentary and fear-mongering, but it is being widely viewed as an encroachment on freedom of speech. Now Myung-bak's right-wing government is not causing an uproar over a popular high-school textbook's version of how American and Soviet forces seized control of Korea from Japanese colonialists after the Second World War. Nobody is taking issue with the fact that Soviet forces swept into Korea and installed the Communist-friendly regime in the north, while American military forces controlled the south. What does infuriate conservatives is that the textbook proclaims that after Japan's occupation, Korea became a divided peninsula ruled by foreign powers around a two-sided determining axis. "It was not our national flag that was hoisted to replace the Japanese flag," reads the textbook. "The flag that flew in its place was the American Stars and Stripes. Our liberation through the Allied forces' victory paved the way for building a new country according to our own wishes."

Conservatives believe such a declaration humiliates national pride and have asked the south to delete or change 13 sentences at the top of the book that "undermine the legitimacy of the South Korean government." The authors are refusing to comply, arguing that the government is trying to "distort" the country's much-disputed past. ■



**MYUNG-BAK** now wants to start rewriting textbooks

## Prostitutes are okay, but not pimps



**RESTRAIN** the proposed new steps short of a ban on paying for sex

**BY SERAH MUHAMMAD •** Paying for sex in Britain is about to get tougher. A new law is being proposed for England and Wales that would make it an offense to pay for sex with prostitutes if they are controlled by pimps.

Right now, buying and selling sex is legal, but soliciting and pimping are not. The new law would mean that people who book up with prostitutes who are "controlled" for another person's gain could be fined up to £1,000 and get a criminal record. As well, anyone who has sex with a illegally trafficked woman could be charged with rape. The police shag new pimps to close brothels, and there would be more "arresting and charging" of permanent jobs.

The crackdown was announced by British Home Secretary Jacqui Smith last week. According to Smith, the measures are designed to remove prostitutes for buyers and those who profit from others, and decrease the "demand" for trafficked women. But the new measures may shut off an overnight ban on paying for sex.

"My proposal is that men should think twice about paying for sex," Smith told the BBC. "The reason they should do that is actually the majority of women don't want to be involved in prostitution."

Critics say the government may as well have banned prostitution because there's often no way to know whether a prostitute has a pimp or not. And many prostitution charities oppose the law. Niko Adams, of the English Collective of Prostitutes, told the BBC the legislation will only force women underground. "It will still be based on the oldest method known," she says. "The government is trying to take the women high ground but it's a little far because women who are struggling to make their money—whether they are from Goudon or Croydon." ■

## Amsterdam orders pot cafés to close

**BY PATRICIA TERPHE •** The city of Amsterdam ordered nearly one-fifth of its cannabis cafés to close by 2011 in order to comply with national legislation designed to protect children from drugs. The targeted "coffee shops," which sell marijuana and hashish as well as alcoholic drinks, all operate within 250 m of a school. Peter Velling, a Cannabis Union spokesman, thinks it's overkill, pointing out that staff in schools already have to tell parents to order the law. "They know a school aged customer found on the premises would mean instant closure of the coffee shop."

One of the most famous Dutch landmarks affectionately known as the Red Light District, the Leidseplein, is popular tourist mecca. Located on former police headquarters, it was opened on April 15th in 1955. Through Margaret Bosman, principal of the nearby high school, opposes the new rule. "We actually think it's just pay show"—her underground students aren't so difficult to buy marijuana from the 225 coffee shops in the city.

The new rule is apparently part of a broader effort to remove drug policies in the Netherlands, which effectively decriminalized marijuana use in 1996. At a recent "weed summit," mayors pushed for a regulated supply system to cut cannabis out of the country.

Without white-hot trade. One city, Eindhoven, proposed setting up a marijuana plant to grow just to grow just for coffee shops. But Amsterdam's religious leader, head of the minor secular trade and resident order, are forcing all their cannabis cultivation. A fourth is considering restricting sales to Dutch citizens.

A government report evaluating current drug strategy is due next year. However, given that 80 per cent of Dutch citizens opposed shutting down the coffee shops in a recent poll, a total ban is unlikely.

News of Amsterdam's new closures came days before a controversial bill on the sale of "magic" mushrooms. That law was announced after a number of incidents, including the death of a 17-year-old French girl, who jumped into a canal while high on the hallucinogen in March. ■

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O'NEILL





## Baseball club for sale. Only \$1 billion.

**BY ADAM KIRBY** • For sale are baseball clubs, barely sold. One hundred years without a World Series. Further value: team at \$642 million. Must sell? No reasonable offer refused.

Chicago billionaire Sam Zell has been trying to unload the Chicago Cubs since last year, and although it hasn't quite come to running classified ads, other options are vying. Zell inherited the stalled team when he took over Chicago Tribune publisher Tribune Co. in 2007 for \$888.2 billion. He planned to quickly sell the team, along with Wrigley Field and part of a local cable channel, and use the funds to help pay down some of Zell's staggering \$881.5-billion debt. Zell hoped to get \$1.1 billion for the club, while retaining a five per cent stake, and several bidders seemed ready to play ball.

Then came the financial crisis, and suddenly Chicago's very popular pro baseball sports team went on sale. The deadline for the deal had to be pushed back to the first week of December. And Standard and Poor's has just downgraded Tribune's debt rating, making it even more desperate for quick cash. \$642 has also ensured that the club's final price tag could be far less than \$1 billion, raising the possibility Tribune might default on its debt.

Making matters worse, one of the prime potential buyers of the team, part of the newspaper's strategy to play with changes by the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission, Mark Cuban, the Internet entrepreneur and owner of the Dallas Mavericks basketball team, was accused of insider trading over his 2004 sale of shares in Microsoft, a very Canadian Internet search engine company. Many observers believe the charges will knock Cuban out of the running to buy the Cubs.

The team's century-long World Series drought is sometimes blamed on the "Curse of the Billy Goat," a juke joint on the team in 1945 when a tavern owner and his gang were ejected from Wrigley Field because of the owner's bad smell. The way things are going, it seems like Zell's efforts to sell the boys in blue are equally bleak. ■

## Can't sell your home? Try a swap.

**BY SUZAN MOHAMMAD** • It's the latest strange twist from the U.S. housing market. Thousands of Americans are discovering that no one wants to buy their home—at least not at a reasonable price. But some just have to move. So here's their creative solution: rather than selling and then trying to buy, they just find someone else in the same position and swap.



**BY SWAPPING homes, owners can avoid real estate agent fees**

These aren't temporary home swaps of the sort that vacationers do. They're permanent, with each party taking legal title of the other's property in a court filing on the Vancouver Craigslist site. For instance, a realtor posted an ad for a "4 bdrm, 2 bath house on a corner lot on a desirable street in Port St. Lucie, Fla.," complete with "multiple and granite countertops and upgraded appliances." The owner is looking to trade it for a place in Vancouver, and it "open to suggestions."

Similar ads are now appearing daily on Craigslist and a host of other sites devoted to swaps. Most listings are placed by Americans wanting to relocate to another state, but some hope to trade their undervalued luxurious posh home with Canadians.

David Moskowitz reached the U.S.-based house-swapping site DoornetSwap last year after having problems selling his own Napa, Fla., property. He says people like the idea of swapping because they can avoid real estate agent fees (though you still need a lawyer to finalize the deal), and because you can buy and sell property in one smooth transaction. "The simplest ones are where both parties own property and they're doing a deal," says Moskowitz. "In some cases a difference in price, where one party owns the other money if the houses have different values."

Moskowitz says he sees realtors getting in on the action by charging to broker swaps, and he says they will be right. After all, with the U.S. housing market aimed at the worst slump it has seen in decades, there's plenty of them out there looking for work. ■

## Microsoft to launch free PC protection

**BY RAYE LINAG** • Finally, some good news for frustrated Windows users. After years of being forced to buy spyware and virus software to keep their PCs running (and being coded for it by Mac users), relief is in sight: Microsoft has announced that it will begin offering its own anti-virus software, for free.

Code-named "Morré," Microsoft's new product promises to guard against malware (short for malicious software) including viruses, spyware, rootkits and trojans. Repeatedly named for Bill's Morris de São Paulo beach, the software was originally designed for consumers in emerging markets who couldn't afford to pay for anti-virus software. But Morré will be made available to Windows users all over the world in the second half of next year, when Microsoft will simultaneously roll off Windows Live OneCare, a security subscription service launched just over a year ago that costs about \$94 per year.

The move is being welcomed by PC users tired of shelling out for third-party protection. Besides the frustration of the contract, "third-party software really drags down the speed of your computer," says Ian Gormley, a Toronto blogger who says he's used all the major anti-virus programs on his PC.

But while it's a boon to consumers, Morré could be devastating to companies that have built empires selling software to protect PCs from viruses. McAfee and Symantec (owner of Norton AntiVirus), leaders in the field, both saw their stock slide by more than seven per cent when Morré was announced, continuing a long-term decline seen in stock of both companies drop by more than 20 per cent over the past three months.

Microsoft claims that Morré isn't direct rival to products from McAfee or Symantec because it's a basic service focusing on malware, and because it doesn't offer extras such as encryption, data loss protection and parental controls. Anna Kucenas, a Toronto-based analyst for Seaboard Group, says that as long as the two competitors can successfully identify malware in addition to malware protection that consumers are willing to pay for, both should be able to survive. ■

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## Active Retirement: Looking Forward to Freedom

It's exciting to think about retirement, and to look forward to with both anticipation and trepidation. You're looking for a new sense of freedom, away from the pressure of working, but how will you live? What will be the things that only someone in retirement can do? **In active retirement, one where you control your own retirement, you will discover you can do so much more today, on your own terms, and in retirement.**

**More people than ever before** are asking these questions. Canada's population is aging. There are now 4.2 million Canadians age 65 and over—about one in seven people. By 2026, it is estimated that it will be one in five.

The fastest growth is occurring in the 85-and-over category, which has doubled since 1981 to reach over 400,000 people in 2008 and rose to over half a million in the 2006 census. It's projected to be 1.6 million by 2041—4% of the population. That's relevant to retirement planning because it tells you that you're likely to live longer than your ancestors did, so your savings will have to last longer.

And you will want to have the resources to look up your heels at least on occasion, because Statistics Canada says that seniors today are generally healthier than those of previous generations. And the Public Health Agency of Canada says seniors can stay that way. "Years of collaborative research among international experts has proven the beneficial effects of daily activity and its ability to decelerate the aging process, and has resulted in the new Canada's Physical Activity Guide to Healthy Active Living for Older Adults."

Being "comfortable" in retirement is not as big a financial stretch as it once was. The median after-tax income of retired couples age 65 and up was \$38,000 in 2005, up 34% over \$28,000 (in 2005 dollars) in 1980. Few

seniors—6.1% in 2005—live below the federal government's low-income line, among the lowest levels in industrialized countries.

Where does retirement income come from? About 24% comes from Old Age Security and 20% from CPP/QPP benefits. About one-third (33%) comes from private pensions (such as company pensions and RRSPs) and another roughly 11% comes from private investments. "Other sources" such as employment account for the remaining 12%.

Although some people are forced into retirement by their health or unemployment, surveys show most seniors choose to retire. That's because it can be a great lifestyle—if you plan for it. Thinking about retirement now will allow you to anticipate many of the challenges so that you can live a better, more active life when you stop working.

Those looking to invest in preparation for their retirement should bookmark the Investor Education Fund's site [www.investoredu.ca](http://www.investoredu.ca). Funded by the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC), the Investor Education Fund is Canada's objective, non-profit source for information and tools to help consumers make better decisions when investing and managing their money. If you are retired or thinking about retirement, this website provides information on retirement planning, living your retirement and other important financial advice, lessons and tools.



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MOUNTAIN EQUIPMENT CO-OP's new store will feature solar panels, natural lighting, motion detectors, and even rainwater-fall fountains.

## GOING GREEN FOR SELFISH REASONS

**Big retail is suddenly hugging trees. Partly to look good, but also to save piles of cash.**

**BY JASON KIRBY** • On a brisk Friday after noon last month, workers at a newly built Mountain Equipment Co-op store in Burlington, Ont., gently lowered a 14-ton solar array onto the building's roof. Once fully up and running, the photovoltaic and thermal panels will generate 50 per cent of the store's energy needs, while heating the building and its water. The crew had already installed skylights along the full length of the building to allow in natural light, and the store was outfitted with motion detectors so that lights can automatically be dimmed when no one is in a room. What's more, the building will capture rainwater to be used in its gardens and toilets, cutting water consumption in half. In short, this isn't your typical big-box retail store. "There's nothing like it in Canada," says Gary Fayon, the Vancouver-based company's senior manager of operations.

Some would say these are just the sort of

eco-friendly initiatives you'd expect from a company that gives grants to environmental causes and has a customer base consisting largely of tree huggers. Yet, while MEC may have a particular emphasis on sustainability, a closer look at the larger retail industry reveals that a sea change is under way. It's not just the so-called progressive companies that are going green—retailers such as Wal-Mart, long pilloried by environmentalists for enormous stores in far-flung suburbs and sprawling factories in China, are emerging to lead the pack. Yes, it's partly because they're looking to brush their reputations with customers and they've suddenly discovered the call our green in their marketing materials. But there's more to it than that. For one, the price of renewable energy is dropping, and green is the dramatic improvement to the bottom line. "There are a lot of reasons to go green your business, and a lot of pressure out there to do it," says Andrew Whisman, the author of *Green to Gold*, an environmentalist's guide. "But those retailers that are going green have found they've been able to reduce their risks, as well as their costs."

The past few months have seen a flurry of

energy-saving announcements from North American retailers designed to help the environment while saving cash. In October, Best Buy said it would slash greenhouse gas emissions by turning to renewable energy sources such as solar for some stores, while installing a centralized system to track energy spikes across its stores and distribution centers. The electronics retailer promises the measures will reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by eight per cent per square foot by 2012, while also saving on energy costs. Other companies such as Wal-Mart, Safeway and JC Penney have also begun to outfit their rooftops with solar panels as a bid to save on energy.

Such high-tech initiatives get headlines, but many retailers are finding that the solutions that save them the most money are decidedly low-tech, ones Wal-Mart calls them "low-hanging fruit." For instance, earlier this year Home Depot announced that it would switch to compact fluorescent light bulbs in its in-store light fixture displays, and aimed to save \$100 million a year by doing so. Wal-Mart is rethinking the frozen food aisle by installing motion detectors in some frigids and frozen that will turn off the lights when no one's around. Such measures could add up to significant reductions in greenhouse gases, Climate Leaders, a group of 126 U.S. corporations that includes many of the biggest names in retail, has vowed to reduce emissions by the equivalent of nine million cars annually. The cost savings could potentially add up to hundreds of millions of dollars. Such moves have become the new black, some retailers were already finding that



reducing their energy consumption made economic sense. In the late 1990s, John Stanton wanted to find ways to cut down on overheads by improving the energy efficiency of his stores. He struck upon the idea of doing away with conventional open lamps and replacing them with energy-efficient reflective hangers. The savings were immediately obvious. "In one store we were able to reduce our energy in one month by the amount it would take to run a 15-candle-foot refrigerator for 24 years," says the founder and CEO of the Edmonton-based athletic chain. "It pays for itself, and then a footprint standpoint it also helps."

Soon the company was looking for other areas to become more energy efficient. It replaced the rug in its stores with hardwood

to double the fuel economy of its fleet, which could slash CO<sub>2</sub> emissions by 13 million tons over the next 12 years. It is pursuing the fuel economy by trucking that by just one mile per gallon last year, Wal-Mart saved an amount of \$16 million. In Canada alone, Wal-Mart expects to save \$25 million over the next five years. "Some say you can't put another company's footprint on the green movement," says Kevin Grah, a spokesman for Wal-Mart Canada. "But our green focus is so beneficial to the business as it is to the environment."

As for the stores themselves, Wal-Mart Canada plans to roll out new, extra-big big box versions starting next year. At 175,000 sq. ft., they're nearly 30 per cent smaller than previous stores, resulting in an immediate reduc-

tion of packaging materials used by roughly 1,500 tons and saved the equivalent of 1,000 barrels of oil. Better yet, Wal-Mart saved about US\$1.5 million in transportation costs.

Then, last month, Wal-Mart CEO Lee Scott met with 1,000 of his Chinese suppliers in Beijing with a single message: "Meeting social and environmental standards is not optional." So that end the company has sold as its largest Chinese suppliers that they must become 10 per cent more energy efficient by 2012. And on a worldwide basis, suppliers must source 99 per cent of their production from factories that receive the highest ratings in environmental and social audits. "Doing business with Wal-Mart is a substantial asset for a lot of companies, so from that perspective we have a lot of pull with how the world of supply works," says Grah.

Environmental groups are encouraged by what they're seeing in the retail sector, but they're also wary of seeing their pressure on companies. Pierre Sadiq, a senior policy adviser with the David Suzuki Foundation, says retailers must do even more to rethink their global supply chains. Shipping raw materials from Canada to China to be turned into products and shipped back to North America is not a sustainable business model, he says. "We're in the very early stages of this phenomenon," says "Retailers have a long way to go in greening themselves."

In the meantime, companies like Mountain Equipment Co-op are pioneering ahead. "We're been building green stores for 10 years now, from when some people thought it was a bit crazy to now when it's a hot topic," says Foryon. "The things we're already doing that have a fast payback are the ones that make retailers now looking at and asking: where's the money to be had. But we're also testing new technologies where the return will come later."

Some of those innovations will be incorporated into MEC's second revision, which will open in Montreal next year. There, the goal is to have the building itself generate every volt of electricity needed to keep the lights on. The company doesn't yet know exactly how it will do that—but it is exploring solar panels, wind turbines or some other alternative energy source. But Foryon says they'll find a way. After all, as MEC's discovered, what's good for the environment is often surprisingly good for the bottom line. ■



**BY IMPROVING  
THE FUEL  
ECONOMY OF  
ITS FLEET BY  
A MILE PER  
GALLON,  
WAL-MART  
SAVES \$50  
MILLION A YEAR**

floor—thus doing away with the need for electric vacuum cleaners and harsh cleaning chemicals—and lowered the ceiling in its warehouses to cut heating costs. The chain also transferred much of its running circulation material to the Internet, cutting back on paper waste. Each change was simple and straightforward, but collectively, the company lowered thousands of dollars that can be plowed back into growing the business. "Some of the greenwashing in the industry has gone overboard and we haven't bought into that," Stanton says. "We start with what is going to help our bottom line while making a difference for the environment."

It's one thing for a company the size of Running Room, with 81 stores across North America, to cut a lot here and a bit there. But when the measuring is done by a company the size of Wal-Mart—with operations in large cities across the country, with itself the largest retailer in the world—these years ago, that discount retailer laid out an ambitious plan to transform itself into a green giant. It would run its operations completely on renewable fuels, and cut its greenhouse gas emissions by 20 per cent over seven years. One way a place to do that is by making its trucks run more efficiently. It's why Wal-Mart expects

reduction in heating and lighting costs. The stores will be partly heated with more energy-efficient thermoelectricity, and solar panels are being installed at some locations. At least one store in Burlington will be heated with geothermal energy, and all of the chain's 110 Canadian stores will have their heating and cooling systems controlled by a central computer in the Mississauga, Ont., head office. Wal-Mart expects the new stores will be 30 per cent more energy efficient than the old ones.

These changes are all good, but where Wal-Mart can truly flex its green muscles is in its global supply chain. Just as the company's central footprint comes from its own operations, the rest comes from its army of suppliers. For example, two years ago the company worked with suppliers to reduce square inch of packaging from its Kid Connection line of toys. In 12 months the move reduced the



**KOOTCHIE KOOTCHIE WITH YAHU YANG IS A HO-HO**  
Yang Yang, a giant panda living in his compound in the Chinese city of Guilin, was so adorable that a student identified only as Liu simply had to crawl in with him. That meant ignoring warnings and scaling a two-meter barrier. Yang Yang didn't care for the company and bit Liu repeatedly on his arms and legs before a keeper rescued the student. "Yang Yang was so cute and I just wanted to cuddle him," the said later.

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# HOW BAD WILL IT GET?

**Facing the worst financial crisis in decades, five experts chart out the future**

BY STEVE MAICH  
PHOTOGRAPHS BY SAMI SIVA

*Last week brought another massive plunge in world stock markets, followed by yet another government bailout of a crumbled bank—this time a US\$300-billion lifeline from the U.S. Federal Reserve to Citigroup. The S&P 500 Composite index has now dropped by 44 per cent since June, wiping out more than four years of market gains, and marking the sharpest decline for Canadian stocks in record. Millions are wondering and worrying about job security, the value of their homes and what's happening to their dreams of retirement.*

*With North Americans now embarking on the biggest shopping season of the year, the economy is at a critical point, and Maich's assembled list of Canada's brightest financial minds to answer some of the most pressing questions in the air:*

- **Farrukh Croft**, chief economist at RBC Global Asset Management
- **Don Drummond**, chief economist with TD Bank Financial Group
- **David Rosenberg**, chief North American economist at Merrill Lynch
- **Avery Sharf**, managing director and senior economist with CIBC World Markets
- **George Hsieh**, equity strategist and chief economist at UBS Securities Canada

*Despite conflicting conflicts, Maich's interviewees each participated separately. This is an edited transcript of their comments.*

**Maich:** How would you describe what has happened on the stock markets over the past three months?

**Croft:** Other than to say it's been dramatic? I'd say we've certainly seen a historic plunge. In markets on the back of a prolonged financial system collapse that was inescapable in the minds of virtually all investors.

**Croft:** It's been absolutely incredible. This is the worst bear market in stocks since the



Great Depression. In some ways it feels like a vortex. You get swept up in it every day. **Drummond:** We've gone from a period in which the general expectation is that the U.S. economy, despite increasing signs of trouble, was going to go on growing rapidly, faster, to a feeling now that it's just falling endlessly and has not reached a bottom.

**Hsieh:** [The markets have] seen the typical selling you'd expect to see in a recession, coupled with a broader wave of forced selling by fund investors who've seen redemptions or have had to pay back loans. This sell-off has been much larger than what one

would have expected from an ordinary recession and even worse than what we've seen in past financial crises.

**Maich:** We heard Stephen Harper sound a pretty grim tone at the APEC meetings over the weekend. What should we take from his comments?

**Hsieh:** He's preparing us for the fact that the rupiah is going to run into a deficit. Canada has more fiscal firepower at its disposal than you'd see in the U.S. or Europe in any way. The real question is whether we want to deploy it or not. If I were Mr. Harper I wouldn't be very aggressive on using it. The

history of all these fiscal initiatives [like massive increases in government spending] is that a) they come too late, and b) they're hard to get off other the economy recovers. That's how our fiscal problems got started in years past.

**Croft:** I think it's very refreshing that Harper has finally used the R-word [recession]. That's usually verboten for a politician or a central banker. But it's all about managing expectations. There's no major bullet for Canada. We are unfortunately going to suffer much the same fate as every other

here continued to increase in Canada, albeit modestly. We're even still creating jobs in Canada. That's a bit of a puzzle. But I still think we will see worse economic outcomes in Canada than we've seen for a while. Not as deep as in the U.S., but it will get worse before it gets better.

**Rosenberg:** Now we are entering into the eye of the hurricane, the economic consequences of this recession. The U.S. consumer now accounts for over 70 per cent of U.S. GDP and almost 30 per cent of global GDP, and

defining, they're not nearly so bad as in the U.S. Third point—the Canadian government, having started this with a balanced budget, has more room to ease fiscal policy than the U.S. So Canada has three strikes, but it also has three balls.

**Maich:** Well, it's going to get worse from here. We've really just recently fallen into the north of the economic slowdown. The third that stands out a part how little Canadian employment has been affected so far. We know that capital spending cuts are coming



RETIREMENT: 'CANADIANS DON'T HAVE ENOUGH MONEY SAVED IN THEIR RRSPs'

that's why issues in the U.S. consumer started to give it up in the summer, that's when oil prices started to peel off. This is the most broadly based U.S. recession in post-World War II history, and it has gone global. In the U.S. we have already lost 1.3 million jobs, and we probably have at least another three million to go. In our forecast, the unemployment rate peaks between 8.5 and nine per cent in the opening months of 2009.

In Canada, whatever happens in the States inevitably migrates north of the border. Anybody who was around in the early 1990s knows what that's about. Canada's vulnerability is that corporate profits are reliant on commodities—that's the main number one. Strike two is that Canada is disproportionately exposed to the auto sector. Strike three is that the principal buyers of Canadian products are U.S. consumers. On the other hand, Canada [benefits] from the fact that the banks aren't bailed out under capitalization in day one in the U.S. And although house prices are

[more major companies], we know that in central Canada there will be a lot more adjustment to come in the manufacturing sector, so the employment picture is going to deteriorate significantly in that area in six to nine months. But we're coming off an employment situation that is very close to the best we've seen in 30 years, and that's worth remembering. If our unemployment rate goes [from around six per cent now] to 7.5 per cent, which we think will, it's not a good thing. But for most of the past 30 years, we were above that anyway.

**Croft:** In the U.S. I think the unemployment rate is going to be at least 8.5 per cent, and in Canada I think we're playing up to 7.5 per cent. If you look at construction employment, it's at a record high in Canada at a time when residential real estate is cooling precipitously. Those jobs are at risk. I have to believe there are more job losses in manufacturing, too. And the note sector—well... that's a significant concern.

#### #4 What's the outlook for the stock market?

**Rosenberg:** People in Canada are going to be braced for some pretty tough times. The apartment was in the U.S., but we don't live in a vacuum. It's a global recession, and Canada is tied to the global economy.

**Griff:** Anybody who says they know we're close to the bottom... I just don't believe them. I don't know where the bottom is. I hope we're close to it, but we're not out of the woods in terms of the financial crisis, and we're just beginning to feel the consumer impacts. The confidence has gone global and become a solvency crisis in the financial system, and an economic crisis. Markets could stabilize around here for a few months.

that... somewhere between two weeks ago and April of 2009 [laughs]... obviously I don't have the confidence to pinpoint a day.

I think these massive stimulus packages already announced by China and the U.K. and the United States should at least give some confidence for a recovery in the second half of 2009.

#### #5 How long will this take us to recover from?

**Dowd:** Eighteen months, same as the APSC estimates [and], not 12 and not 18 [laughs]. We're going to go through a very extended period of de-leveraging around the world as companies and individuals pay down debts, and I think that will constrain growth. Maybe the worst will

be economic problems that still haven't been worked through. When will we hit the next peak [in the Dow and the S&P 500]? I'd say it's at least 10 years away. But let's focus on when we're going to hit the bottom before we start talking about prior highs.

**Sheffield:** On average it tends to take around three years to make up for the scale of losses we've seen on the stock market. But it could take up to five years if the recovery is less robust. And even that is going to require a lot of economic pump-priming by government to restore growth.

**M:** By any way that some of these stimulus plans are going too far, and could create larger problems down the road with excessive debt and huge deficits?

STOCK MARKET: 'I'M NOT EVEN CONVINCED WE'RE AT THE BOTTOM YET'

**Sheffield:** In normal times we could look at how far we've fallen relative to earnings, and be confident that we're near a bottom. In this environment that's a tougher call because so much of the selling has been forced by hedge funds losing their investors and their sources of credit, and other ripple effects of cascading debt around the world. Stock loss cheapens relative to earnings, but one can't be too confident that they won't get even cheaper for awhile.

**Dowd:** There's the first sign of hitting a bottom in the economy as U.S. housing prices hitting bottom, and I think they need to come down another 10 to 25 per cent. I think they'll get there by spring 2009. But I think the stock market will hit bottom before

be over by the summer of 2009, but I think the problem will linger for a while. That is not just a one- or two-year wonder. Economies aren't going to come racing back, it'll be more of a limp.

**Wise:** Well, getting back to the 10,000 level on the TSX is really going to require getting off back up over \$600 a barrel, and a recovery in other commodity markets as well, up to close to the levels of last spring. That'd be an event for 2010 or maybe 2011.

**Rosenberg:** I'm not even convinced we've seen the bottom yet. The summer here [Japan] they are 20 years away from the peak. This is not some correction in a cyclical bull market. There are some fundamental, structural eco-

nomic problems that still haven't been worked through. When will we hit the next peak [in the Dow and the S&P 500]? I'd say it's at least 10 years away. But let's focus on when we're going to hit the bottom before we start talking about prior highs.

**Sheffield:** I'm very concerned that Ottawa has shifted away from planning to fight the deficit at all costs, to talking about possibly even expanding the deficit as a way to fight economic weakness.

**Dowd:** I think we're building up for some ugly long-term problems. We already

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### SPECIAL REPORT

have a U.S. government that's going to run trillion-plus deficits for the next couple of years. How are they ever going to get out of this? I think previously some of the things being done to ease short-term pain are going to create longer-term pain. The concern from the U.S. is Ottawa is considering a stimulus package of US\$500 billion or more. They already have a debt problem much like the one Canada had in the mid 1990s.

**M: Who in the world could finance all that debt?**

**Diamond:** Well, the Chinese and Japanese central banks. But there is always a point at which they decide they don't want to do that anymore. And as the U.S. dollar returns to a trend decline, it'll occur to them

that plan. If you're happy they're offering group KOSOs, we have a long-run issue—will there be adequate pension coverage? You really start to wonder what we need to do to bolster up the coverage of the CPP plan. I think it's a great worry.

**It's not just going to have an impact. We've already seen a small uptick in the average age of retirement.**

**Diamond:** As bad as the retirement problem is in Canada, it's worse in the U.S. The reality is, we went through the 1990s and people's retirement was the "Nadaq sort of" That got destroyed by [the dot-com] crash. We went right into this massive housing bubble. Then that retirement was the "for sale" sign on a \$500-sq.-foot McMansion

with a later retirement date for many Canadians.

**Craft:** I think the concerns are well founded. Obviously if you're 30 years old, you're not too worried. But if you're on the cusp of retirement or recently retired, I think the concern is real. That said, a lot of people have the tendency to look at what's happening now and think it's never going to get better. It will get better. But it might take a while for us to dig our way out of what has become a pretty deep hole.

**It's how worried should we be about real estate?**

**Craft:** Not too worried, but that said, I've been surprised by the rapidity of the decline in the U.S. I think prices will be down 30 per cent before all is finished, and that's a

ECONOMY: 'THIS IS NOT THE GREAT DEPRESSION. IT WILL GET BETTER.'



don't see a pretty heavy investment. That's the big risk.

**M: How concerned should people be about the stability of their pension plans and their retirement?**

**Diamond:** I think we have a fairly serious situation developing in Canada with respect to pensions. The Canada Pension Plan is fine but... it's not really a comprehensive program. We know Canadians don't have huge amounts of money. I would argue they don't have adequate amounts of money in their private RRSPs. So it really comes down to employer-sponsored programs. They are basically narrow companies in Canada offering either defined benefit or defined contrib-

ution plans. Now that's destroyed. The reality is that savings rates are at record low. People are going to have to save more of their income for retirement. Relying on asset inflation to pay for retirement—that fairy tale is over. People are going to work in long as they can in order to ensure they can maintain their living standard in their golden years.

The boomers have spent their adult lives building up an incredible stockpile of consumer durable assets, but they have not prepared financially for their retirement. These concerns are real.

**Shayfield:** They say that 50 is the new 40, because we've lost all the money we've saved over the past 10 years, and that's going to create

enormous impact on American wealth. Here in Canada we don't have that far to fall, maybe another five or 10 per cent.

**M: What do you expect this holiday season to tell us about the condition of North American consumers?**

**Wade:** The U.S. consumer is clearly going to have a very difficult year. People aren't even over the shock of things yet. But in Canada, the decline in the stock market has had a negative impact on sentiment, but the employment shock has not come, and for most Canadians this collapse has not yet affected them directly. They'll be shocked to some extent and rightly so, so I think it'll be soft, but not nearly as difficult as in the U.S.

Crafts their initial contacts from the U.S. are quite grim. Then said, I went to Okatville Place on the weekend and couldn't get a parking space. People are in a wonder right now that if it's not 50 per cent off, I'm not going to buy it. People in Canada are going to delay their purchases and wait to see if

be learned from the Great Depression, and from Japan in the 1990s.

Here it's really the only consolation is that we're not that much worse than the one we're currently going through, so comparisons are certainly natural. But most people don't appreciate the differences. We went to 25 per

## THE ECONOMY EXCUSE

**Getting out of oppressive holiday rituals just got a whole lot easier**

**BY ANNE KIRKTON** • If there's a silver lining to encroaching recessionary storm clouds, it's the Economic Excuse—a convenient pretext being nimbly peddled by enterprising persuaders. After all, why should corporations and governments be the only ones able to blame economic malaise for cutbacks, layoffs and cancelled holiday parties? One Toronto woman, who requests anonymity, recently channelled her rage over U.S. brokerage Morgan Stanley (which is cutting 30 per cent of its workforce while simultaneously creating high-end “financial advisers”) when she told her cleaning lady she had to let her go because of the sour economy. She didn't even know she'd raised her former cleaning lady, who'd left to deal with a family emergency. She defends her decision as meant for everyone. “Some of my friends use her so I'll jump into her,” she says. “I also didn't want to burn any bridges, you never know, I might want to hire her again.”

How many people are conveniently blaming the financial downturn to sever relationships, professional or personal, is unknowable. But a glimpse is offered in a survey released in November by Prince & Assoc., a Canadian-based polling company that specializes in the habits of the rich. It asked people with a net worth of more than \$10 million how the economy was affecting their extramarital relationships. Twelve per cent said they planned to dump their lovers while 80 per cent claimed they would be cutting back on their gifts and allowances.

It's anybody's guess how many of these adulterers are telling the truth about potpourri romantic downsizing. But anecdotal evidence suggests many alleged “behaving badly” measures are in fact “relief-paving.” And nowhere is this more evident than in the deployment of the Economic Excuse to escape the death grip of holiday obligations. One woman who works in PR, for instance, told her family she's unable to come home for Christmas, explaining first-hand finances were the reason. They were sympathetic, she'd lost her job last summer and only recently had

## SAVING: 'REDUCE DEBT...INVEST CONSERVATIVELY'



prices come down. But down in the U.S. it's looking like a very fragile Christmas.

**At What do you think when you hear colleagues and pundits drawing comparisons to the Great Depression?**

**Sheryl Fife:** The Great Depression, last I looked, didn't have a one per cent unemployment rate. I think what's far to say is that the crisis in the global economy is one of the worst in decades. We could well have been headed for another depression if Herbert Hoover were still in the White House. But governments in the U.S., Canada, Asia and Europe are doing precisely the opposite of what got us into the Depression.

**Dawnwood:** Well, in economic terms all you've got is history and theory, so you might as well exploit whatever literacy you can to figure how this is going to end up. The origins of the Great Depression definitely have some similarities. But so for the policy response have no similarities. Back then, right until 1934 you had governments trying in vain to maintain budget balances, cutting spending and raising taxes. This time, you're going to use the opposite.

**Rosenberg:** This is not the Great Depression. We already had the Great Depression. This is a modern depression. We've got a framework now that we didn't have in the '30s—we didn't have deposit insurance, we didn't have welfare—so, the comparisons can only go so far. But there are lessons to

learn from unemployment, and we learned a lot from that. The speed of the recovery we've seen so far truly are unprecedented. This is the first time since the Great Depression that we've had that kind of potential market meltdown, and while our institutions have not acted perfectly, they have acted swiftly and continue to act. I don't think we're heading anywhere close to a Great Depression.

The thing to bear in mind is that while this panic attack is justified, it can just as easily be reversed. Of the 30 worst days in the history of the TSX, five of them have happened in the past two months. But, of the 10 best days in TSX history, five of them have also occurred in the past two months, too. We could quite easily snap back to TSX 10,000 quite quickly, and then begin the process of repair.

**At So what can people do to get through this as best they can?**

**Rosenberg:** Focus on cutting three debt loads. Find ways to cut costs and raise cash. Invest conservatively. We're not talking about having to go back to the days of Leave It to Beaver and Ozzie and Harriet, but I think that frugality is going to emerge in the new fashion. It's going to mean, instead of going out for dinner twice a month, have friends over for a potluck dinner. Instead of driving to work, maybe take transit or carpool. People think that's draconian, this frugal future, but people may find they're happier. ■



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been hit back as a contrast. But money wasn't why she depressed her visit. "It's a hassle," she confides, cheating off the routine—shopping for and wrapping of presents (if she doesn't go, she's expected to send only one or two), packing, arranging the car seat, heading back to work, making a mad dash to the train station. Then there's a five-hour train trip crowded in with

**SHE TOLD HER FAMILY SHE COULDN'T COME HOME, SUGGESTING LIMITED FINANCES WERE THE REASON**



SLASHING an unwelcome gift list is now fiscally responsible

to land an assortment of gift baskets—a list of slap-back on the train.

She's not alone in bonding with results that, over time, have become oppressive. One 30-year-old couple who has thrown a Christmas party for neighbors for over a decade has decided this year is the perfect time to end the tradition, even though their financial situation has not changed. "Every year we say, 'This is the last year,'" says the wife. "Then we get sucked into it again. And it's so much work—three days of preparation. When they told people they wouldn't be

hosting the party, people just assumed the economy was the reason, she says, noting some expressed disappointment: "Maybe they're relieved too," she says with a laugh.

Not only does the Economic Barometer leave people to opt out, but to opt out with a sense of moral superiority. In this new era of "fiscality chic," slashing an unwelcome gift list is

locally responsible. Regifting is no longer taboo; it's to be applauded. And parents can finally refuse to buy the latest and shiniest video game—much to the chagrin of their children. Depression preparation.

Just like actual economic distress, the Economic Barometer does cast the risk of having a downer effect. One woman who lives in British Columbia says she made plans to join her brother and his family, who live out of the country, in Toronto this Christmas to visit family in a warm home. It was not to be. "It's depressing as hell," she says. "I cry almost every time I see them." Now her brother has just cancelled for regular "financial reasons."

She's surprised. "They're generous," she says. "Then this got me thinking: if the son who works for a big corporation can blame the economy, why can't the self-employed do the same?" So his rationale, whether true or not, has become her excuse as well. "I guess I just want to be selfish and enjoy Christmas the way I see other people enjoying it, it's a celebration, a happy day." She'll go after Christmas instead. "Better to not there on a random day in January or February when the atmosphere is blah and the messiness of it won't be so pronounced." It may not be a heartwarming Christmas tale out of Dickens—or even Dr. Seuss—but the *Economic Barometer* saved her Christmas. And it's a reminder to all that she's at least one way (if) to make the economy work for you. ■

# PAYING THE BILLS

**Will Buffalo's beloved football team move north, or will any NFL franchise do?**

**BY CHARLIE GILMAN** • The message is as tightly controlled as a fourth-down running play. Rogers Communications remains focused on the seven games remaining in its deal with the Buffalo Bills, says Phil Lind, vice-chairman of the company and a lifelong fan of the National Football League. It is determined to break even on its five-year, US\$78 million pact and ripken in the chance to bring the biggest of the big leagues to its own backyard. But the devil is in the qualifiers. "We have no specific plans—at least that we're willing to disclose—about moving any team anywhere," he says, tapping the team's wooden table that serves as his desk. "In general terms, philosophically, does this bring Toronto closer to an NFL franchise? Sure. Of course it does."

That "willing to disclose" bit is the sort of thing that gets heavy mileage in Buffalo these days. Since the Bills announced nine months ago that they would play three exhibition and five regular season games north of the border, fans have run rampant in the downtown city that once-sloping Toronto was long long for its last beloved team, a smoldering football team that attracts 75,000 rabid fans a game to its aging throne, Ralph Wilson Stadium, far from scenes of beer-fueled worship.

It turns out there are less casual spectators than the Bills faithful suppose. In a wide-ranging interview last week, Lind confirmed that Rogers (whose media holdings include *Maclean's*) would like to suggest the existing agreement before it expires in 2012, adding at least one more regular season game per year to be played at the Rogers Centre. "Eight is probably not a tough," he says. "At least two [regular season] games a year would be desirable from our standpoint." But the assumption that Toronto stands to poach Buffalo's team has lately given way to the obvious fact that on hosting NFL games may only be a step in the city's long march toward NFL membership. The so-called "Bills in Toronto" series "shows the league that the city's interest here," Lind shrugs. "It's not a Bills move,

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TORONTO 'ISN'T' A BILLS TOWN NECESSARILY\* BUT

WITH 5.5 MILLION PEOPLE, 'IT'S AN NFL TOWN FOR SURE'

necessarily. But it's an NFL town, for sure."

What that holds for visitors is anyone's guess. The league is taxed enough these days keeping its existing games healthy in a declining economy, while the absence of a franchise in Los Angeles means top priority for expansion or relocation. Next week, Toronto will host a regular season game between the Bills and the Miami Dolphins in what is widely viewed as an audition for the billion-dollar club of NFL ownership. Yet the first game in the arena—a pre-season bout between the Bills and Pittsburgh Steelers—drew criticism for the two "real-out-of-town" pocket-book tickets were available only as part of gift-giving packages, with average prices for the Steelers' game at \$150, and for the estimated 30,000 seats that had to be papered over with giveaways and donations.

Lind says the company has taken those lessons to heart. "We could have done it better," and next week's game was at premium close to being sold out. Still, the company's bestselling postcard reminds the sheer scale of the market, where 5.5 million people comprise the fifth largest fan base on the continent, and a far better prospect than some existing NFL markets. In late October, the league borrowed \$362 billion to guarantee teams' operations as credit became tighter, mindful no doubt that at least 10 million fans play or will play in stadiums financed by debt whose interest rates have as much as quadrupled in the last 10 months. Other markets, such as Jacksonville, Fla., are simply out of their depth in the NFL, where the average

team payroll last year topped \$114 million. Before its deal with Toronto, Buffalo fell into the same economic category. Hampered by the city's minuscule corporate community and by western New York's rust belt economy, the Bills ranked 27th out of 32 in team revenue last season, with \$186 million, despite selling out all eight of their regular season home games. For nearly a decade, the team's 30-year-old owner, Ralph Wilson Jr., has been warning that the city couldn't support the sustained economies of the NFL. More ominously, his team have no interest in raising the town when he dies. "I think the issue will sell us," Wilson told the Buffalo News in 1996, in what would become a refrain.

No surprise, then, that many Buffalo sports fans savor an apocalyptic roller coaster as it covered the picture last winter: "These people would do whatever Christmas presents if it means they could keep going to Bills games," says Ed Rudenka, a former Bills quarterback who is on the line. "It's helped lead ticket and sponsorship drives to keep the team in town." "They really love this team, so they were worried." Today, Rudenka's events among those who are the team's leader draw

RENOVATING Rogers Centre might involve redesigning the hotel overlooking the field

as a rescue where \$12 million a year may increase the Bills from other, less friendly out-of-town buyers. So does Chris Collins, the top elected official in Erie County, where the Bills reside. He has suggested publicly that the team could play in much of half of its regular season schedule in Toronto.

That, of course, would raise the prospect of a whole new hotel in Canada, drawing much closer scrutiny of the pros and cons as a market. Lind acknowledges that the Rogers Centre would need a retrofit to add the 10,000- or 15,000 seats the league likes to see in its facilities, but he declined to go into detail about the options available. The most obvious solution would require that the Renaissance hotel overlooking the field be scaled down or dismantled, yet the company would need to consider whether potential charges would detract from the atmosphere for an other big league sporting property, baseball's Toronto Blue Jays.

Then there's renowned master of the CFL. While Rogers points to its long track record of supporting the Canadian league, an expanded NFL schedule in Toronto would almost certainly raise fears for its future. Those concerns have captured the sympathy of football insiders on both sides of the border. "I can't imagine the NFL ever doing anything that would hurt the Canadian Football League," says Mark Levy, the legendary former Bills coach who briefly coached the Montreal Alouettes. "The NFL has believed in and supported the CFL for a long time. I don't think they'd want it to disappear."

Still, it's hard to ignore the growing sense of the team being new. "It's not the only country and city in the world to have five NFL regular season games in the same place over the next few years," confesses Adrian Maniagocery, general manager of the Bills in Toronto's project. That "unique and historic" arrangement, he adds, not only enhances the Rogers brand among sports fans, but was necessary for the Bills to continue in the market where they are best loved. All of which raises a question everyone involved should be glad they do not yet have to answer: If Toronto someday gets its own NFL team, what happens to the Bills? ■



JOCKEY TAKES HIS TIME COMING IN FIRST

It's his worst jockey, Anthony Knott, never won a race despite 38 years of trying. At 44, the father of three was famous in racing circles for usually coming in last—even his children laughed him about it. That changed recently in a moment when Knott finally managed to victory riding Wise Man Day Knott has declared that his racing days are now over, and he plans to retire to his dairy farm.





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# TWILIGHT ZONE

There was mass delirium as hordes of teen girls finally got to sit in the dark with their vampire **BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON**

film

Edward Cullen has rosy lips, chiseled jawline and frigid eyes that glow amber under dragonfly-brown. And he wears a sweater your young lady might like. But mothers don't like him. Although he's dying to sink his teeth into female flesh, Edward maintains himself. He's a gentleman vampire—keeping his love at a chaste distance with soaring beauty and high romance.

*Twilight* director Catherine Hardwicke considers the easiest she's undertaken the power of Edward. Last year, before her movie even had a script, she was at a book signing for Stephenie Meyer, author of the blockbuster novel that launched the franchise. Meyer walked onstage in front of

during the shooting of the movie, 12th-grade girls, barely-wedged hair down obscuring the wilds of Oregon. "They found us on a convention-top freestanding at two in the morning. Another hand held her baby and a camera to production assistant—a woman!—and had her walk half-circle to get to her baby's picture taken with Bob."

That kind of insanity erupted on a mass scale last weekend as hordes of screaming teenage girls, and more than a few mothers, saw their fantasy come to life. Opening on some 6,000 screens across North America, *Twilight* overtook all expectations. Booned by sold-out midnight screenings, it earned \$18.5 million in opening day, almost matching its modest budget of \$1.9 million. And the weekend gross reached \$150 million, a record for a movie by a female director.

That's all the more remarkable considering the film was hand-picked by Hollywood independent studio, Summit Entertainment, which picked up the franchise after Paramount decided it was a dud and dropped it. Summit has already announced *New Moon*, based on the second novel in the saga.

Hollywood has never seen a teen romance explode out of the gate with such force. Titanic sent girls into a swoon, but the adoration of Lucas and DiCaprio took some time to tell. *Twilight*'s opening underlined a phenomenon that has been brewing for months—fueled by the popularity of Meyer's novel and its three sequels, which have collectively sold 17 million copies.

Before the movie opened, its official website served girls in fiction and its trailers drew a crowd. 12 million views on MySpace. When Paramount appeared on MuchMusic last week, there was pandemonium in the Toronto radio as she covered on a couch, her words drowned out by screaming fans, some had camped out for two days. And in thousands of offices, virtually all-girl audiences thrived

as soon as that man came onscreen—an anxiety described as why a crash between *Twilight* and *James Dean*.

Reese Witherspoon, Hollywood has dotted on male youth. An entire red army of special effects has been used in the sexualization of adolescent boys on screen. But *Twilight* confirms there's a powerful new demographic to play: the female. "We've had a taste of a new screen hero like the *High School Musical* movies, and the hysteria generated by the stars of *Poison of the Caribbean* and *Mary Potter*. But *Twilight* enters in the first major teen romance franchise since exclusively aimed at teenage girls.

Judging from the obsessive chatter on one of the 150 adult websites devoted to *Twilight*, the fans of the book are not disappointed with the film. The most common complaint is that it's too long by two feet. "When Bella and Edward were making out the way was so strong it almost made me sick," wrote Hannah, in a fan post on *twilightlovers.com*. "It was a good sex because it was so hot and the sleeping scene was SO cute I died I think..." but then I came back to life because I need to finish the movie." On the same site, Meredith wrote: "I screamed inside my head the whole time, and when the whole theater squealed, I did too. The kissing scenes were perfect. I am going along tomorrow. Robert did an amazing job—Bella—I cannot sleep." And from Kate: "I thought none of Bob's eye starts were slightly weird [sic], but the whole cast was so good. And I have to say—I was NOT expecting it to be so FUNNY!! I laughed so much more than I ever thought I would!! The movie was perfect—aside from the screaming girls in the theater."

Audiences have been volatile. Some girls scream, while others shut. Much of the movie plays on romance connected with a series of camp, leaving its right audience questioning between swoon and giggles. Many are scared, in online posts, girls complain their boyfriends refuse to go. But they should. "If they see a man and want to pick up chicks," says Hardwicke, "it could be a very rare guy who's caught on to this." The snatching of young ladies who do get dragged along, or show up



THE SMATTERING of men who show up to *Twilight* might as well be making a vampire party

1,500 hardcore fans, Hardwicke is calls, "and as soon as she said the name 'Edward' girls were screaming, getting dizzy, fainting out. There was no face to put with the name. So it was pretty obvious to me as soon as there was a real guy, an actor, these girls would go 10 times crazier."

No kidding: Robert Pattinson, the 22-year-old English actor cast as *Twilight*'s vampire heartthrob, became an instant ad of *Twilight*

out of curiosity, might as well be crashing a gayle's party.

Messiah-like, critical moans to the movie has been lukewarm. Typically reviewers complain it's a vampire movie that lacks bite. Why waste the power? The vast majority of these critics are male, and they would not have found these about vampires and horror. But *Twilight* isn't horror; it's a subtle, sensual romance. And it's the small vampire tropes Edward belongs to a wholesome family of "vegetarian" bloodsuckers, who prey only on animals, not people. *Twilight* doesn't burn them, but makes them as quick as diamonds. And they don't sleep in coffins, they wiggles on beds and dreamboats, a movie-making sure filled with light and art.

What girls and women love about Edward

ROBERT PATINKSON and Kristen Stewart might play Edward and Bella in the movie



**'THE KISSING SCENES WERE PERFECT. I'M GOING AGAIN TOMORROW.'**

it that he doesn't bite. He's a hot-blooded model of restraint and chivalry. And Bella, the virtuous heroine played by Kristen Stewart, also means. She's the one taking the shots, boldly rewording Edward with her trust. And she will do it just when she wants her first period—consuming the romance only when she's ready to join him in the wide-eyed ecstasy of vampire matrimony.

"*Twilight* is a fascinating metaphor for teenage blood loss," says *Twilight*. "The vampire wants to eat her and kill her but he doesn't want to. Every teenage girl struggles with that. Your body has all these hormones rushing through you, and you're bombarded by sexual images in ads, but you're not supposed to be in it. You want to rip the clothes off the other person but you don't want to be a slut the next day, or a slut." The movie, she adds, "is a fantasy about romance for unadorned beauty. And how easy is that?"



**WE'RE STALKING... KATHY COX**

The Georgia state supreme court clerk of schools became an instant celebrity three months ago when she scored US\$1 million on the TV quiz show *How Stupid*. From a job description she was magnificent about it and donated all winnings to charity, preferring to live on her own and her husband's income as a contractor. But with the U.S. construction industry in turmoil, hubby is out of work and they recently declared bankruptcy.

many girls have come up to me saying that it's tempting them to be a writer or director."

It remains to be seen if *Twilight*'s success can spread beyond the fan base. The lead star on the ad campaign the film "a pop culture phenomenon," as if that's enough for the uninitiated to check it out. At least one critic has compared *Twilight* to *The Passion of the Christ*—as a movie that has inspired a demographic previously ill-served by Hollywood. But the *Twilight* craze is sustained by ideology, even if the religious right could embrace the saga as an ad for abstinence. Meyer, after all, is a bloomer. And her sensible heroine holds her own until after she's finally married to Edward in the fourth novel of the series, *Breaking Dawn*. Then—spoiler alert!—all the goody, eye-popping romance you get out the window. Finally letting Edward off the hook in



**'Tis The Season To Give Seasons.**



**Left: VY16B** Robert Hult apparently executed an illegal buy in his trading room before a big bounce, sending out his in the second

## Introductory ironing for guys

**It's not that difficult, says a newly minted expert—but never touch women's cashmere**

rather below it. Do the back of the shirt last, because that's the bit most likely to come unraveled. You can then fold it and iron in the creases, but I wouldn't bother trying to iron you." When Martin told Helena he'd accepted that the proper way to fold a shirt—"pulling the sleeves behind as if it's being arrested by a policeman"—in also the correct drill, Helene told him it was just as good to hang the shirt on a wooden hanger.

Spicy ranch transformed Martin's dining experience. "The room seemed to roll over a vent, and there was an indescribable relief to the flames of the shirt when I finished it. In fact, the shirt looked profoundly scored from the fire as it was laid out on the table. The chef was so proud of his 'passion fruit' ranch dressing that he had the waiter associated with bringing it, he walked heavily underneath. Robert [John, the former lead

singer of Led Zeppelin, who apparently requested an "ironing board" in his dressing room at the band's recent gig in London because "ironing got him in the mood." "All the members of Led Zeppelin looked well pressed on stage. They evidently know that there are crumpled a man's face, the smoother his clothes must be," writes Martin, adding "At the age of 45, I've squared up to the truth that one cannot dress as a man unless one is."

**SIGOURNEY WEAVER**  
My Allen films had the real-world hits scored when the airline she was travelling on blew attitude, obliging the passengers to wear masks, despite the terror of flying on a plane that 30 feet. Weaver has decided to take up flying recently working toward her pilot's license for *Melrose*!

THE IDEAL CLOSET: BETTY PHOTO SUBMITTED BY ADAM CORDEN

**BEST IMPROVED: SIOCCURNEY WEAVER**  
The star of the creepy Allen film had the real-world skills needed out of her recent journey: the airline she was travelling on decompressed at high altitude, obliging the passengers to wear oxygen masks. Now, despite the terror of flying on a plane that plunged 10,000 feet, Weaver has decided to take up flying lessons and is currently working toward her pilot's license in the skies near Madrid.





I was once a queen  
who once travelled  
a lonely, winding  
path light in hand

WHITE-GLOVE TREATMENT The seven handmade books are adorned with different promotions; Amazon's is the moonstone edition

## The Bard who saved Christmas

Rowling's 'Tales of Beedle the Bard' will bring millions to charity, and joy to booksellers

BY BRIAN KOPPEL • J.K. Rowling's writing career is a series of one first after another, from being the first author to hold simultaneous worldwide midnight launches to the first remarkable first of all: becoming the first bestselling mystery author. Now, after scoring her second precedent on route—highest purchase price (\$6 million) for a modern literary manuscript sold at auction—Harry Potter's creator is about to provide more millions for a children's charity she co-founded and, incidentally, brighten Christmas for bookseller anxious about concrete hard times. The *Tales of Beedle the Bard* (Amazon) is a gift book to the seventh and final *Harry Potter*, *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*. In his well-managed Hogsmeade bookstore, Albus Dumbledore left Hermione Granger a copy of the children's classic—a story collection familiar to Ron Weasley but unknown to Muggle-need Harry and Hermione. Dumbledore's bequest gave the true that first knowledge of the *Hallows*, information that would later prove critical in the struggle against Lord Voldemort.

As soon as she'd published *Deathly Hallows* in July 2007, Rowling began writing on the five stories to be in *Tales*. It was typical of her: In the first Dickensian novel *Harry's* fictional world, minor characters are a dime a dozen. Rowling may have refused to copyright seriously in what fantasy writers call world-building, a detailed explanation of the social, economic and political structures of their settings, for all a reader can glean from the Potter realm, much like in the magical world seen partly limited to twirling, the civil service, or dragon wrangling. But she's almost compulsive in filling in the personal details of the most peripheral of characters.

Nor did the ever forget them, even when hundreds of pages passed without an appearance. And while there was no point in finding out Beedle, a semi-mythical Mother Goose figure long dead before the events of *Harry's* lifetime, there was good reason to write his tale.

The stories are "The Tale of the Three Brothers" (already included in full in *Deathly Hallows*), "Babbity Babbity and the Cackling Stump" (the very mention of which makes Hermione giggle), "The Wizard and the Hop-Frogger" and "The Prisoner of the Forest"—all mentioned in the novel—and "The Wizard's Harry Heart." They are perpetually freshly translated from the original Kowalski by Hermione, with learned commentary by Dumbledore himself. Rowling made six hundred free and personally illustrated linen-bound booklets, each bound in leather with five hand-chased silver ornaments (each representing a tale), and different screen-printed covers.

They were made, the author said, "to thank six key people who have been very closely connected to the series, and these were people for whom a piece of jewellery wasn't going to cut it." (Two of those six have since identified themselves: Barry Cunningham, Rowling's first editor at Bloomsbury in Britain, and Arthur Levine, her U.S. editor at Scholastic.) And, Rowling added, in reference both to the Potter series and to a key magical character, "I'm not doing as I really have to do now, and the seventh book will be for this cause, which is so close to my heart."

It was for that cause—the Children's High Level Group charity—that the seventh copy went to the auction block in December 2007. Co-founded in 2005 by Rowling and Baroness Emma Nicholson, a member of the European Parliament, the charity aims to improve the welfare of children living in large residential institutions, primarily in eastern Europe. The continuous pre-sale estimate was about \$150,000; Amazon.com eventually prevailed for \$4 million. The money went to the CHLG, as did ownership of the story rights. On July 10, Harry's birthday, the CHLG announced it would publish on Dec. 3 three English-language editions, printed and distributed by Bloomsbury (Hogwarts Books will carry its version in Canada), Scholastic and Amazon.

Although the Canadian and British publishers have declined to disclose their print runs, they will be proportional to the 3.5 million copies (at \$12.95 each) Scholastic will distribute in the U.S. market. Given those figures, and the 180,000 collector's editions (with more of Rowling's drawings and other extras) to be published by Amazon and sold for \$180 each—and the status of the charity benefit Potter nation—it seems likely the charity will end up with more than \$10 million, and be well-stuffed with a very Merry Christmas. ■



### FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT...CANADIANS IN SICILY

Mark Zuehlke's *Operation Husky* (DPMO) tells the Canadian story of the Second World War invasion of Sicily. As part in the invasion of Sicily, a year before D-Day, the Canadian Army fought the hard-fought "Canoe" battle over the last half of a 20-day campaign, 20,000 troops from the 1st Canadian Infantry Division and 1st Canadian Tank Brigade suffered 2,300 casualties (including 582 deaths), but gained experience that proved invaluable in Normandy in 1944.

## meet the experts

Janet Freedman is a Certified Financial Planner, a Registered Nurse at Pfizer and the President of Women Matters Ltd.



## Janet Freedman on Women, Work and Money

What does retirement look like for women?

Many women don't plan to stop working. Some expect to retire from jobs with good pension plans and then go back to work on contract for their previous employers. Others will start their own businesses. I work with two retired teachers who bought a used bookstore and have been working really hard for the last 10 years—near they retired. One of my clients talks about retiring and taking "McJob"—and she doesn't mean working at McDonald's. She means teaching a university course or English as a second language overseas. There are a lot of things people can do to supplement their income. I think phased retirement is going to be a much more common approach as baby boomers retire—partly out of financial necessity, but also because they know they need a reason to get up the morning! Employers are going to lose a lot of their prime employees in the next 20 years, so encouraging people to stay longer in the workforce will become more common.

According to the Bankline Retirement survey conducted by Jan Dearden, Financial Security, only 60% of Canadians say they know how much income they will need in retirement. What percentage of their income do people actually need when they retire?

It depends on how much you're earning before retirement. Somebody who is earning \$300,000 a year will need close to that in retirement. I always try to get my clients to \$2,800 a month minimum because you can live on that. On the other end of the spectrum, if somebody is earning \$500,000 a year, they don't need 70% of that after retirement. The number one rule is you have to be able to live on retirement.

Also, a lot of people just don't realize how long they are going to live. I do my projections based on living to age 100.

Do women from different generations have different attitudes about working? Yes, definitely. People who lived through the Depression experienced depression. I have a client who got married 100, and she says when she and her husband started

out they didn't have two nickels to rub together. Now she is comfortable, but she still doesn't spend money on herself.

The baby boomers grew up as a lot of plenty and earn good money. Prior generations of women did not have the opportunities we have. But many spend more than they earn and carry credit card debt. They don't understand that buying something on sale, putting it on your credit card and paying 20% interest negates the fact that it was on sale in the first place.

What I notice with younger women is that these confidence is huge. They'll work as long as they need to work, and may have many different careers over their lifetimes. It's a shift in attitude.

What's your best advice to Canadian women about how to secure their financial future?

Educate yourself and don't be afraid of paying for advice—just make sure it's value for money. A predominant role of a financial planner is to work with clients, understand who they are and make decisions together. But if your decision—what you have to be careful.



Many women don't plan to stop working. Some expect to retire from jobs with good pension plans and then go back and work.

For more information on the Desjardins Financial Security retirement research visit [www.research.desjardins.com](http://www.research.desjardins.com). To view a video of the interview, ask a question or get related information visit [www.desjardins.ca/meettheexperts](http://www.desjardins.ca/meettheexperts)

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**LES FEMMES D'ALBI** The diner's owners are fighting to keep it open; our waitress ain't doing a show, they are serving sexy breakfast

## Where it's always sunny side up

**At this greasy diner, topless women serve the bacon and eggs. City hall thinks that's erotic.**

**BY MARTIN PATRISSEIN** • The restaurant *Les Femmes d'Albi* is located, in an enduring, threatened Quebec city where patrons are served by topless women, is located in the city's east end, next to a used car dealership and across the street from the headquarters of the province's television network. The sign outside barely conceals what goes on inside: "Serveur(e)s 18 ANS+" has been on the wall with a lot of tape—and at 18, it's not two dozen tables see *Ellie* with heavy eyelids who's on the menu, for the most part, outside only as far as their drink orders of *Le Journal de Montréal*, the city's take-out coffee. Youngish women, who would be naked were it not for a small strip of sheer fabric around (most of) their waists, but, across one of the tables, delivering plates of bacon, eggs and mushrooms soaked with. Flakky highlights are playing without sound on the television in its little like grease and bad manners.

It's not the daily grind of *Les Femmes*, one of roughly 10 so-called *Restaurants* on the island of Montreal. It has been around for 11 years, and the restaurant property itself has been a very far at least a decade long. Tradition aside, though, the restaurant is currently fighting for its survival—again, as owners say, of an unwelcome city hall. A third party investigation into *Les Femmes* has reached in the government's jurisdiction of the restaurant's liquor license, and a hearing about the police will start it down altogether.

According to the city, what is true for this reason is true for almost every other restaurant on the island: in long-standing as they say be, many of them are illegal, because they don't have a permit to exhibit erotica. At the heart of the issue is a desecrating sexual question: what, exactly, constitutes erotic

city these days? But another way, does a topless waitress constitute erotica, or is it just a shirtless woman, but arms laden with plates of sunny eggs and flakky grill cheese?

Currently, the restaurant's proprietors haven't been audited. Between 2004 and 2005, city police, posing as clients, recorded nine sexual infractions against the province's liquor code, including the sale of alcohol without food—illegal for a restaurant—and the showing of dirty movies on its four television sets.

What then *Les Femmes* on owner Gaston Thomas, though, is the charge that his waitress provide an "erotic show" by the simple fact of being naked from the waist up. According to city bylaws, an erotic show is anything "facilitating the sexual instinct by showing the human form in a fashion that draws attention to a woman's breasts, pubic area, genitalia or buttocks." One needs a license for this type of operation (A man doing so needs, it seems, a fair game).

There is quite a bit of this in Montreal, on downtown St. Catherine Street in particular, but in *Foodservice* (Massachusetts) industrial district, where *Les Femmes* is located, it is prohibited. Thomas, though, says his restaurant isn't a show, it's simply a restaurant where the waitress happen to be topless. "They aren't doing a show, they are serving sexy breakfast," he says.

He has a point. According to the Quebec liquor board, which revoked *Les Femmes*'s license a few weeks ago, an "erotic show" is defined solely by the presence of nudity. "Because there is clothing involved, a wet T-shirt contest, for example, is not considered nudity," says *Rejean Tremblay*, of the province's liquor board.

In other words, the waitress at *Les Femmes* could wear T-shirts, spray on a another with water, and be as topless as they want, and still would be kosher in the eyes of the law. Should that then be correct, though, and everything changes. It works the wall to no end. "The only reason I work here is because I'm not interested in giving a show," says Kristelle Sabourin, who with five years' experience at *Les Femmes*'s daycare. (After the police investigation, the staff dressed T-shirts as an attempt to conform to the law, business faded. "People were used to find out if the waitress were still dressed," Thomas laments.)

It isn't going up. The 24-year-old former general contractor has applied at the suspension of his liquor license, and will continue operating until the police call him otherwise. Recently, several of his clients and former employees testified in municipal court. One fellow said he'd been 15 km five days week for the last two years to eat at *Les Femmes*. Under cross-examination, however, he said he probably wouldn't visit as often if the waitresses weren't topless. ■



**TODAY'S SPECIAL...HELLO KITTY BEAUJOLAIS**

Champagnes often discuss Beaujolais because it's having too "young" a wine to have any sophistication. Japanese topicals evidently could care less and are snapping up "Hello Kitty Beaujolais." Not only do you get a pretty bottle with five familiar national cartoon cat on it, but it's 100 per cent respectable pink and you get a good combination of fruity flavor and mild acidity. The kitty comes into you down.

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BY KENNETH WHYTE



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Greenwood's Bookshops, 7925 104 St. (780) 479-3285  
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**MACLEAN'S**  
MAKING SENSE OF IT ALL

# In times like these we should make fun of others



SCOTT  
FESCURE

Don't concern yourself

Times are tough. We are currently going through a phase that economists describe in technical terms as [sounds of shoveling, punched economists dropping silently to their deaths, belching] "We're all doomed!"

It's at moments like this that we should cast our gaze upon those less fortunate than ourselves—and make fun of them. Because that'll be a quick one up! I recommend focusing our attention on the problems of luxury goods. As we stand on the precipice of global recession, as we endure the misadventures of the Great Depression since my Grandma got together with friends for what always turn into a game of Who-Ate the Most Inedible Thing During 1931, let us ponder, which product would we least like to try and eat?

1. The \$660,000 life-sized replica of you made out of Lego.

Currently available through the Nielsen Marcus Christmas book, which is renowned for showcasing unique and extravagant gifts for the wealthy and elite world, this one's especially tough-sell. The market seems leashed to people so starving in a "Where Steeped coffee and business travelers including a passport photo for easy into Logoland. Worse still, having convinced to making "life-size" depictions, Nielsen Marcus will actually lose money if someone buys this as a gift for John Goodman.

2. The 15,000-dollar

During our bar-bellies, a typical human will spend upward of 25 days on an all in front of the toilet—though usually not all at once. The Japanese company Toi wants you to spend big to make these days comfortable. As the self-described "world leader in toilet innovation," Toi has just unveiled its Noisest 999—a device so advanced that "clogging at a toilet at all is far too limiting," the company claims. Think of it as a day spa for your ass.

The pump-based amenities include heated seat, pressure-adjusted water jets and seeping (called a Power Catalytic Deodorizer, which uses "activated oxygen to break the molecular bonds of odour," an advancement so remarkable that it renders toilet to 60 per cent of the job in just 10 minutes. But wait—there's more! The Noisest 999 also features:

- a built-in toilet bowl light—so you can see in glorious detail what you leave in... uh, why does it have a light again?
- an integrated audio system—a "sound module" comes preprogrammed with 45 new-musical soundscapes, because in the 21st century no citizen of an industrialized country should have to suffer the indignity of

purely human excrement with bare hands. And not just any old barehands—buy the Vividex mattress and you'll be spending your nights atop piles and piles of padded heat (like effluents include all your dreams featuring the lead singer of The Notorious B.I.Y.). Well, now you'll buy barehands instead that much more experienced but just say it's bare hands performed to long in his hair [long, regretful pants]. It was a struggle.

In addition, the mattress's outer layer features 22-karat gold accents hand-assembled one atom at a time by molecular scientists, who themselves have been dipped in 22-karat gold for an unparalleled level of luxury and sophistication (may not be true).



## The gold accents are hand assembled by scientists themselves dipped in 22-karat gold

defeating in the absence of salt just

- easily opening and closing lid—which fires you to use your hands for more important tasks, such as punching the people living up outside your house to make fun of your \$100,000 toilet.

I know what you're thinking: what, no carbon filter?

3. The \$160,750 mattress

On the one hand, sleep is very trendy. If Bright Lighters, Big City news anchors, do all right, other parties would be replaced by 187 pages of command aspirins.

On the other hand, there are some in society who will resist spending so much on a mattress as they would on a Kaskade—which is peculiar when you consider they both handle roughly the same.

How can a rectangular thing possibly be worth 60 grand? The answer: barehanded. The Vividex mattress by the Swedish com-

pany's website features a photograph of a naked lady in bed and another naked lady in a mask lying over the bed, adding fuel to the rumor that "Vividex" is Latin for "Charlie Sheen's house."

Not cold yet? Here's tips the mattress will actually slow the aging process and circulate better. Here's how it works: you climb into bed, close your eyes and think about how much money you just spent on a mattress, at which point your head explodes, disintegrating within.

4. And then there's the greatest challenge of all: selling a \$199 ticket to the film *Too Tight to a human male*.

Makes the mattress salesman's job look easy. ■

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## ORION GLENN HUTCHINSON

1967-2036

# He was enthralled by nature, but he couldn't sit still. 'Hanging around with him was a roller coaster'

Orion Glenn Hutchinson was born in Vancouver on April 6, 1967, to Judith, an executive assistant with a financial consulting firm, and Glenn, an airline mechanic. He was an exceptionally lively child and his brilliant blue eyes and long dark lashes were so arresting that strangers often stopped and stared. Glenn passed a baby picture on his toolbox and people "didn't think it was real," he remembers. Judith describes Orion as "a real old soul," meaning that from the time he was very young, he was precociously intelligent. He was also enthralled by every thing in nature from pine cones to caterpillars. As he grew up, he was so protective of living things, "He wouldn't let us kill a spider," she recalls. And, "His imagination was incredible." To feed it, Judith bought him honeybees—especially myriophthalma talumensis. "I would have to be careful because he would become very terrified at observed and off forest aspects of the insects," she says. "He would take to things far more seriously than other kids." As a toddler, he loved to be behind the wheel of the family car and practice driving, revving all the engine and shifting gears. Glenn says "Dad at three, he knew what it meant to be on off in traffic."

By the time Orion was five, the family, which by then included daughter Dana, moved south to the coastal community of Tsumswen, where Glenn worked as a firefighter and Judith as a fitness coach and freelance writer. It was a perfect place for Orion. He could sit outside his and disappear into the woods to play his games, a haunting wild man. He met his friend, Stephen Luckie, at Cliff Drive Elementary School when the pair were kicked out of a class 1 class for marauding the teacher's pet. Orion, was very "high energy," Stephen says. "Over-the-top." The two boys often blazed long distances with Glenn, but without supervision, Orion tackled steep trails that frightened Stephen. Orion didn't have many other friends, Dana says. "The friends he had, they had to come to him." She says he was reserved, but Stephen remembers it differently. "Hanging around with him was a roller coaster. Every step you took was like going around a blind corner."

As he continued to school, "Orion couldn't stay seated," Judith says. "Whether you call it attention deficit disorder, or one of the other terms, he didn't do well in a structured environment." And

"Accidents happened to him," Stephen says. Orion once stuck a key into an electrical outlet, as a child, he cut all the wires in the house. He tried to shave off his hair after watching belling B.C. premier Mike Harcourt on TV. High school at South Delta Secondary was a struggle, but Orion graduated. And students, he was always in his element. Swimming, mountain biking or kayaking, Dana says, "He loved anything moving outside in fresh air."

In his later years, Orion faced more struggles. His parents sep arated. He fell in love with a rough boarhead girl named Kate Von Don Brink, who shared his passion for animals, woods and music. The two were so close that they all but shut out the rest of the world. When Kate died at 17 of a violent unusual infection on a visit in England, he was devastated. "Orion wanted to get a plane ticket and go out there right away," Dana says. "He had no other reason than him."

On his 19th birthday, Orion bought a 2004 Yamaha F66. He used it to travel back and forth to a studio program at his baby's British Columbia Institute of Technology. "I was terrified for him," Judith says. "But he thought it was the epitome of cool." Last February, it wasn't the bike, but a disagreement that landed Orion in the hospital. By some accounts, he was defending South Delta brother against boys with leucism. "He

almost lost an eye," Judith says. Orion recovered and completed his courses at BCIT. He had paid himself a good paying job as a welder in it. "He was really coming into his own," his aunt Jean Wagner says. Stephen learned. On a visit home five weeks ago, Stephen says Orion "was out of control. I told him, 'What bike will kill you?'" On Sat., Oct. 25, Orion left home to visit Kate's grave at nearby Boundary Bay Cemetery, Judith recalls. At 10:15 p.m., on a main Vancouver street, a Jeep Wrangler turned left in to his path, crushing the motorcycle and killing Orion. The Jeep was allegedly driven by an RCMP corporal identified in the media as Benjamin Murty Robinson, one of four Mounties involved in the 2007 accident at the Vancouver airport that saw Polish immigrant Robert Dziekanski die after he was tased. On the night Orion died, Robinson filled a 60-second test at Delta police headquarters. He has not been charged with anything, but on Jan. 31, he will appear in a Surrey, B.C., court.

BY BARBARA RIGGTON

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